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ABSTRACT

This book provides an overview of Malaysia's history and culture. The book begins with a prehistoric times and continues through nationhood. Each chapter provides background information along with student activities and project suggestions. Chapters include: (1) "Introduction"; (2) "Early Trade and Civilization"; (3) "The British Presence in the Region, 1784-1942"; (4) "Toward Independence: Malaya to Malaysia"; (5) "Sabah and Sarawak: The East Malaysian States"; and (6) "Nationhood." The volume concludes with a 72-word glossary, five maps, an answer key, and a 51-item bibliography. (EH)

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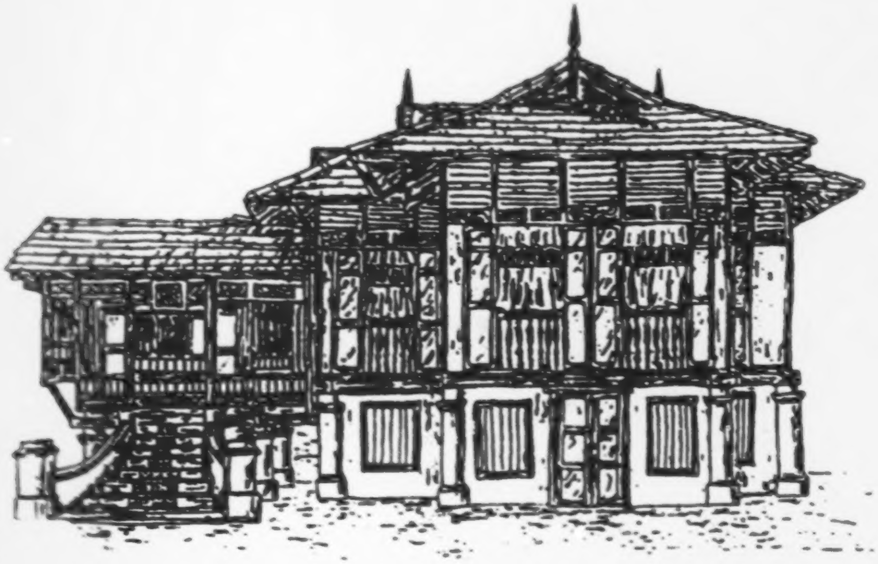
by

Eloise Smith Van Niel



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Center for Southeast Asian Studies
School of Hawaiian, Asian and Pacific Studies
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa
Honolulu, Hawaii
1994

Malaysia

by

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School of Hawaiian, Asian and Pacific Studies
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa
Honolulu, Hawaii
1994

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Preface

This historical introduction to Malaysia is one of the country studies sponsored by the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, School of Hawaiian, Asian and Pacific Studies, at the University of Hawaii at Manoa.

In this book most place names are spelled as they are spelled in standard American dictionaries. For example, *Malacca* is used instead of the Malay *Melaka*.

The term *British* is used here to mean either the English or the government of Great Britain. *Islamic* and *Muslim* are used interchangeably in referring to the religion of Islam.

In Chinese personal names the first name is the surname. Thus, Tan Cheng Lock is Mr. Tan. In Malay personal names the first name is the given name, but it is the name used in addressing the person; the word *bin* means *son of*. Mahathir bin Mohamad is Mahathir, the son of Mohamad, and is addressed by the single name Mahathir, or by that name preceded by his titles: *Datuk Seri* Dr Mathathir.

Many personal names are preceded by titles. *Tengku*, or *Tungku*,is used for hereditary royalty. Honorary titles include *Tun, Tan Sri*, and *Datuk* (or *Dato'*). Malays use *Enche'* (or *Enchek)* for Mr.; *Puan*, for Mrs.; and *Encik* (or *Cik*) for Miss.

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Introduction

Malaysia is one country but not one race. Malaysians may be Malay, Chinese, Indian, or yet another race. Because of its various races Malaysia is called a plural society.

The Malays are the largest ethnic group, forming 58 percent of the population. The Chinese form 31 percent, the Indians, 10 percent; and others, one percent, in a total population of 17,755,900 (1990). Before Malaya became an independent country in 1957, it appeared too heterogeneous to become a nation. The various peoples seemed to have almost nothing in common except the fact that they lived in the same geographical area.

Malaya expanded into the Federation of Malaysia in 1963. The term *Malaysian* refers to all of Malaysia's citizens whatever their ethnic origin. The terms *Malaya* and *Malaysia* both evolved from the original name for Malays, *Melayu*.

Malay is an ethnic term for a large racial group, most of whom reside on the Malay Peninsula, the island of Borneo, the islands of Indonesia or in the southern Philippines. Their culture is shaped by the religion of Islam.

In modern Malaysia, a Malay is almost always a Muslim. Conversely, to become a Muslim is to become a Malay.

Malay is the official language, *Bahasa Malaysia*. It has been the language most commonly used throughout the Malay region since ancient times. Some Malay words are used in English: amok, batik, orangutan, and sarong. Other words have been adapted from Malay: caddy (*kati*), compound (*kampong*), godown (*gudang*), and cockatoo (kakatua).

The areas taken into the Federation of Malaysia in 1963 were Peninsular Malaya, Singapore, and Sabah and Sarawak (two British colonies on the northwest shore of Borneo). Singapore remained in the Federation for only two years. It seceded in 1965 to become an independent nation, the Republic of Singapore. One small area next to

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Sarawak did not join the Federation in 1963. The oil-rich sultanate of Brunei remains a separate country.

The total land area of Malaysia is 127,320 square miles, about the size of New Mexico. Much of the country is tropical rain forest. The climate is hot and humid. The Peninsula, where 83 percent of the people of the country live, is known as West Malaysia. It contains eleven of the thirteen states: Johor, Kedah, Kelantan, Melaka, Negeri Sembilan, Pahang, Pulau Pinang, Perak, Perlis, Selangor, and Terengganu. Kuala Lumpur, the capital, and Labuan island are administered as federal territories.

The other two states are Sabah and Sarawak, known as East Malaysia. Although the population of Sabah and Sarawak is only 17 percent of Malaysia's total population, their combined land area is 60 percent of the total for the country. Sarawak contains 48,050 square miles. Its capital is Kuching. Sabah contains 28,460 square miles. Before 1963 Sabah was known as North Borneo. Its capital is Kota Kinabalu (formerly Jesselton).

The two parts of Malaysia are 400 miles apart, separated by the South China Sea. West Malaysia has 50,810 square miles and is a little smaller than the state of Florida. Most of the population is clustered along the west and east coasts. Forty percent of the Peninsula is mountainous terrain that obstructs land passage from one coast to the other. Ships from the South China Sea had to sail around the foot of the Peninsula through the Strait of Malacca to reach the Indian Ocean. The Strait marks the present boundary between Malaysia and Indonesia.

The history of Malaysia is a story of travel and trade, power and profits, rivalries and riches. In ancient times the Chinese called Malayan waters *Nan Yang*, the Southern Ocean, where goods flowed to and from the hospitable harbors of the Peninsula. To early foreign sailors the Peninsula appeared as the land of camphor and of gold, a fabulous kingdom beyond the sunrise.

Chapter I

Early Trade and Civilization

When ships from India sailed east and ships from China sailed south, they met and passed each other in the Strait of Malacca. The Strait is the waterway around the islands between the Malay Peninsula and Indonesia. It is the only water corridor for foreign ships to enter the Malay world of Southeast Asia.

The Strait is where the winds meet. In May, the southwest winds blow toward the Peninsula from the Indian Ocean, and in October, the northeast monsoon comes down from China. When the Indian galleys arrived on the northeast monsoon, the junks from China and *praus* from the eastern archipelago were already bound for home, not to return until the southwest monsoon. While waiting for the winds to change, ships sought shelter in the harbors of the Peninsula. While anchored at the rivermouth, the ship captains took up trading with local chiefs. The chiefs at the rivermouth sold products from the forest.

The forest people, *orang asli*, paddled their canoes downstream, bringing useful plants and valuables from the jungle. Out of the forest came aromatic timber, vines, shrubs, and resins. Eaglewood for incense and fumigants, sandalwood for scents. From the canarie tree, oils and ointment; from the cassia tree, salve for skin disorders. Parts of the camphor tree could be turned into remedies for indigestion, headaches, bleeding, and rheumatism. The gambier shrub yielded astringent, the aloes, unguent. Bees supplied honey for sweetening and liquor; and beeswax was molded into candles. Internal concretions in certain animals, which are called bezoar stones, were extracted for their magic powers.

The sago palm yielded starch; the coconut palm, sugar. Rattan from climbing palms was woven into rope, baskets, crates, mats, snares, and bird cages. Nipa palm fronds were thatch for roofs; its sap was brewed into an intoxicating drink, *arak*. Betel leaf and areca nut were mixed with gambier juice or lime into a satisfying chew.

Only the forest people knew how to find the isolated groves of rare woods, for only they understood the magic in the forest. They were animists, believing that everything in the natural world possessed a soul-spirit, *semangat*. To the benign soul-spirits, the forest people paid homage. They believed the spirit of the lime tree was a prince, and the camphor spirit, a bird who shrieked in the night. Evil soul-spirits had to be appeased, or in extreme danger, exorcised by magic charms or spells of a wizard, *pawang*. If the gutta-percha tree were slashed, its juice drained spirit-blood; if the eaglewood tree were cut, its spirit craved sacrifice.

The sea people, the *orang laut*, also brought produce to the rivermouth. They fished in salt and fresh waters; hunted crocodiles and tortoises; and, diving underwater, collected coral, pearls, and cowrie shells (which were used as money). They patrolled the coastline in dugout canoes which could glide into rivers and vanish upstream. The *orang laut* were more than traders, often combining barter with piracy. There were so many pirates that ships were forced to seek safety at the river settlements. While anchored offshore, they engaged in local trade.

The rivermouth chiefs added more desirable products to their merchandise, like gold and tin from the river headwaters. The chiefs eventually undertook transshipment of spices from the eastern archipelago. Nutmeg, mace, and cloves, which grew only in the Molucca islands, were particularly sought after as food flavorings and preservatives. The chiefs saw that cargoes were efficiently unloaded and stored until they could be transshipped in the next monsoon on ships bound for India or China. By efficient management, the river ports grew into small trading states because they supplied the kind of services so essential for active commerce: a hospitable attitude toward foreigners, desirable merchandise, and prompt movement of cargo. With this kind of success the trading states evolved into small mercantile kingdoms.

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One of these kingdoms, the kingdom of Srivijaya at Palembang on Sumatra, became more rich and powerful than the rest. This maritime empire gained dominance over the waters of the Strait, the shorelines, and the hundreds of offshore islands. It brought the great natural wealth from the jungles and oceans of the Malay world into a trading network that stretched from China to Arabia. Srivijaya dominated the trade in the eastern seas from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries.

Srivijaya gained control of the sea trade by buying off the *orang laut* and converting them into a coastal police guard and a navy. The flee patrolled the sea lanes, collecting tolls and harbor taxes at every checkpoint. Naval affairs were directed by the admiral, the *Laksamana*, and land operations by the Chief Minister, the *Bendahara*.

Srivijaya offered the foreign merchant an open sea passage free from pirates. Foreign ports were thus assured a continuous supply of coveted exports from the Southern Ocean: ebony, teak, perfumes, ivory; and above all, extracts from the rhinoceros for poison antidote and sexual stimulant. Srivijaya was able to transship a volume of Chinese goods--tea, silks, porcelain, and silver, as far west as Arabia. by accommodating the demand of the Chinese emperor to be paid in cash. Arab ships sailed east to the Strait with iron, copper, and glass. Ships from India unloaded cargoes of cotton, salt, and cane sugar. Merchants of all lands were attracted to the trading network because they found commercial dealings well regulated and a ready market waiting for their goods.

Srivijaya introduced a new style of governance. Subject villages were not oppressed by heavy taxation, for Srivijaya depended on ships' tariffs and other fees for revenue. Inland river towns were either bought off or subdued by force. Captives were not executed but made to work for the kingdom. In return for any favor a village headman, *Penghulu*, had to pledge total allegiance and manpower to the Srivijayan court. As the number of favors grew, indebtedness to the ruler spread until the relationship of a ruler to his subjects became an entrapment of favors and obligations.

Missionaries who accompanied merchants from India introduced the Hindu-Buddhist belief to the Malay world. Brahmans of the priestly caste and Buddhist pilgrims made Palembang a center of learning. Srivijaya evolved from a trading kingdom into Hindu-Buddhist state, with a hierarchy resembling that of an Indian principality.

Srivijaya kept a balance of power by enforcing a code of conduct on how rulers and subjects should treat each other. This code of conduct became the foundation of *adat*, which is Malay custom with the force of law. Unless subjects pledged total loyalty to the ruler they would be executed for treason. The ruler, in turn, was obligated to respect the rights of his subjects. Should the ruler break the *adat*, he too would be punished by the Supreme Being. As the ruler was believed to be endowed with a supernatural aura of kingship, *daulat*, so must he himself be judged by a power higher than mortals.

Some of the merchants and missionaries who came from India stayed in Sumatra and the Peninsula. They married Malay women, and over many years Indian customs became fused with Malay folkways. Tales of how Srivijayan rulers were descended from Alexander the Great in Asia Minor were told from one generation to the next. Through oral tradition the grandeur of a Srivijaya past entered into Malay memory.

Srivijaya lost control in the fourteenth century when it was successively challenged by other kingdoms. Historians believe that when the Javanese kings threatened to take over Srivijaya, the ruler, Paramesvara, crossed the Strait to the island of Singapore. Over the next ten years he had to flee twice further up the Peninsula. Finally, through a sign, so the legend goes, he learned where he was destined to stay. The sign came to him one day when he was out hunting. While he paused to rest under a malacca-stemmed palm tree, he saw one of his dogs attacked by a tiny mouse deer. "This must be a good place," he said, "the mouse deer here are so brave that they will even take on a dog." And so the prince stayed in that place and founded a city. He named his kingdom after the palm, Malacca.

Islam was always present in the region among Arab traders, but during the decline of Srivijaya Muslim merchants out of India reinforced Islam even more. Muslim merchants attracted more trade by offering improved business practices, such as supplying credit and inventories of cargo. Moreover, Indian ships could travel great distances and were able to carry products from the Archipelago as far as Venice, the port for Europe.

Even more Malays were converted to Islam by Muslim missionaries. Once a ruler was converted his subjects would follow him into the faith. The missionaries introduced new knowledge, such as healing agents, which the people accepted in addition to cures by their own spirit doctor, *bomoh*. The Muslim missionaries taught writing with pen and ink on paper, and also transcribed spoken Malay into a written Arabic script called *Jawi*. By expanding literacy and bringing outside knowledge to the region the Muslim missionaries brought greater peace and order into Malay villages.

Islam offered its converts a new system of social justice by introducing morality in law. All members of the faith, regardless of race, color, or economic status, are equal participants in the community. On becoming a Muslim, the convert gained a sense that he had joined a brotherhood and could participate in the *ummat,* the spiritual nation of Islam.

Muslims believe in one God, Allah, whose word was revealed to his prophet, Mohammed, and written down in the holy book, the Koran. The faith is interpreted by religious teachers.

The five pillars of Islam oblige the believer to observe five religious duties. To pray five times daily. To recite the profession of faith that Allah is the only God and Mohammed is his servant. To pay a tax for charity based on personal wealth. To fast during the month of Ramadan. To make the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Although Islam allows a man to have four wives, the practice is relatively rare and each wife must be treated equally. The religion requires that sons be circumcised. It prohibits lending money at an inflated interest; gambling; drinking alcoholic beverages; and eating pork. Among the rules for moral conduct, women are to dress modestly, or even cover the body and face in public.

According to legend, Islam came to the ruler of Malacca in the form of a dream. Raja Tengah dreamed that the Prophet spoke to him in Arabic, a language that he did not know, yet in the dream, understood. He was told that on the next day he was to receive an unknown visitor. The court did not believed the raja's dream until he showed them that overnight he had been circumcised. At the appointed time Raja Tengah rode his elephant to the shore and met a holy man wading out of the water. The raja made his elephant kneel and raise the holy man to a seat beside him. By this act of homage Raja Tengah himself became a Muslim and was henceforth known as Sultan Muhammad Shah.

The sultan's conversion--however it may have happened--stimulated trade among Muslims. A mosque in a port attracted Muslim traders, for Muslims not only used Malay as their common language but they liked to trade with other Muslims. Arab ships came to Malacca with cargoes of raisins, rose water, arms, and wool, and returned with sandalwood, alum, pepper, and gold. The sphere of trade with Muslims widened until by the fifteenth century Muslim trade from the west was competitive with China trade from the east.

As many as two thousand ships at a time could be anchored off Malacca. The Malacca roadstead was deep enough to allow large ships to enter; the harbor was clear of mangrove swamps; and the town was connected to a portage route across the Peninsula to the South China Sea coast. The Peninsula offered tin ore. Ships from India unloaded cloth, drugs, dyes, and opium; from China, silks and other luxury goods; from Sumatra, pepper, gold, and ivory; from Java and the Moluccas, arms, rice, foodstuffs, and spices.

A harbor master, *Shahbandar*, was assigned to each of the four main trading regions: one for the west coast of India; one for the east coast of India; a third for all the East Indian islands from Sumatra over to the Philippines; and a fourth for China. Each

Shahbandar would meet his captains at the wharf, receive their gifts and customs payments, and arrange for their cargoes to be carried by elephant to the appropriate *godown*, or warehouse. There cargoes were protected from fire and theft until they could be collected by ships in the next monsoon. With such a volume of trade, and by sound management, Malacca developed into a bustling port, whose wealth from foreign commerce was envied by all.

The Malaccan court had an elaborate hierarchy. The ruler, raised to the status of "Shadow of God upon Earth" like emperors in Turkey and Mogul India, was glorified even more because of the prestige he claimed from his Srivijayan descent. The ruler, who had variously been called *sultan*, as in Turkey, or *raja*, as in India, now added a Malay honorific, *Yang Di-Pertuan* ("He Who Is Made Lord"). His mystical power of *daulat* placed him above mortals. His temporal power, *kuasa*, was honored in a complex set of court ceremonials.

Ceremonies were carried out with elaborate pomp. A court procession, accompanied by an orchestra of drums, pipes, and flutes, carried the royal symbols: fringed umbrellas, tobacco box and cuspidor, tray of betel preparations, the royal scepter and sword, seven spears, eight tufted lances, and the royal *kris*.

The *kris* is a wavy-bladed Malay dagger. Like King Arthur's sword Excalibur, the *kris* was believed to have magic powers, sufficient to cure snake bite, suck fire, and throw or break an evil spell. The *kris* was not only a fearsome weapon but the ultimate symbol of power, for it enabled whoever possessed it to perform superhuman feats.

The court had to follow detailed procedures. Yellow was the color of royalty. The royal standard was white, whereas the flag of the Crown Prince was white with a yellow border. The *Bendahara* bore a green flag; the *Laksamana*, red; and the *Temenggong*, as Minister of Justice, bore black.

Court attendants had to follow rigid protocol. The chiefs paid homage by touching the forehead to the sultan's knee, or by placing the head under his foot. Everyone who entered the court had to wear a scarf draped over the shoulder, have his sarong in a certain kind of fold, and show his *kris* unsheathed in front: violations of this dress code were punishable by death. Envoys were escorted to court according to rank. The most noble rode elephants; the less noble rode horses; those of lesser status came on foot carrying umbrellas.

The practice of polygamy produced a large royal family in the Malaccan sultanate. Only princes of one royal line were eligible to inherit the throne, but all members of royalty had special privileges. Only royalty could have gold or wear yellow. Only royalty could own boats with windows and reception cabins or live in houses with enclosed verandahs.

The nobles, though non-royal, were almost as powerful as the ruling family. They were known as the *orang kaya*, the rich men, and given the title *Datu*. The title could be inherited or granted because of large landholdings. Many nobles of a lateral royal line were clever and ambitious enough to muster a large following as a counterforce against the ruling family. This put the noble in a position to demand significant privileges from the ruler, such as an important office, a percentage of the royal revenues or, at times, even the throne itself.

The ruler decided matters of state in consultation with his Council of Nobles. Once a decision was reached by consensus, *muafakat*, the ruler had to accept the decision or else risk outright revolt. For, even though the ruler was theoretically omnipotent, his kingship bound him to a covenant with his nobles: as he judged his nobles, so could he expect to be judged by Allah. The covenant affected every subject in the sultanate. Loyalty to the ruler, even under injustice, surpassed all other bonds. The legendary hero, Hang Tuah, killed his friend rather than betray his ruler.

The sultanate was administered by a Cabinet of Ministers, who were members of the aristocracy. The Cabinet was headed by the *Bendahara*. The Minister of Justice, *Temenggong*, also managed the royal household. The *Laksamana* now directed both naval and land military operations as Minister of Defense. Other ministers were the *Menteri* and the *Shahbandar*, whose duties had expanded from harbor master to chief tax collector.

Malay society was divided into two classes: a ruling class and a subject class. Status was determined by the closeness of a person's relationship to the sultan; in this way a ruler's power was measured by the number of followers, dependents, or allies he could attach to himself. Although power might be acquired through acquiring wealth or gaining merit from Islamic scholarship, the degree of a ruler's power was proportionate to how many people paid him homage.

The majority of subjects were the commoners. Fortune in life depended on the luck of birth or patronage; it could not be changed through individual effort. No commoner could aspire to the ruling class in any district where his family was known, for he would be called "a bean who forgets his pod, " that is a man who tries to rise above his station. Commoners had few rights, but they were not slaves.

The relationship of the commoners to the ruler was one of mutual dependence. The ruler needed subjects to supply goods and to serve as conscript soldiers. The commoners received status and protection in return for the goods and services they supplied. The ruler was described as a tree, and the subjects as the roots without which the tree could not stand.[1] The balance of power was sustained by a hierarchy of obligations from the commoner to the ruler.

The glory of the Malaccan sultanate is chronicled in the Malay Annals, *Sejarah Melayu*, the first history of the Malay people. It is part fact, and part oral history, and was first written down as a narrative in 1540. It pictures Malacca as a port thronged with traders from all lands and describes a court filled with all kinds of people--power brokers, sycophants, adventurers, warriors, and heroes. Its stories of love, loyalty, treachery, vanity, and valor document the transfer of the Hindu-Buddhist belief system from Palembang into the Malay cultural tradition. The *Malay Annals* formalized the world view of the Malaccan sultanate into the mythos of the Malay people: "From below the wind to above the wind Malacca became famous as a very great city, the raja of which was sprung from the line of Alexander the Great; so much so that princes from all countries came to present themselves before the ruler." [2]

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[1] Sejarah Melayu (Malay Annals), ed. C. C. Brown (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1964), 117.

Malacca's glory gave splendor to the Malay heritage. The Malaccan court set a standard for Malay culture and statecraft. Malacca's government, official titles, literature, music, dance, games, and dress were emulated in the years that followed. For over a hundred years, from 1400 to 1511, Malacca was a thriving commercial and religious center that became a model for future Muslim kingdoms in the Archipelago. The Malay language became so closely identified with Malay culture that the Malay word for language, *bahasa*, came to be used for refined Malay behavior. Islam became so fused with Malay society that to become a Muslim, it was said, was *masuk melayu*--to enter into the fold of the Malay.

Over the years another culture had come into the Peninsula, the culture of China. A few Chinese merchant communities had always existed near the larger chiefdoms. The first Chinese immigrants paid the local Malay chiefs for the privilege of settling outside the Malay villages and engaging in their own trade. They were entirely self-governing under their own head, *Kapitan China*. The Chinese settlers, called *Baba* ("outsiders") by the Malays, spoke a Chinese version of Malay. Many Chinese married Malay women, known as *Nonya*, who wore batik sarongs instead of the Chinese cheongsam, and who in time developed a Malayo-Chinese cuisine. Through longtime residence on the Malay Peninsula the *Baba* families developed a distinct Chinese-Malay culture.

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[2] Barbara Watson Andaya and Leonard Y. Andaya, A History of Malaysia (London: Macmillan, 1982), 36, paraphrasing the Sejarah Melayu.

The lucrative trade of Malacca did not go unobserved by the Western world. The Portuguese conquistadors had their sights set on the riches of Asia. In 1496 Vasco da Gama and his Portuguese fleet had sailed to the East Indies to seek their share of the Moluccan spice island trade. The Portuguese conquered Malacca in 1511. The sultan and his court fled south, and the traders scattered in all directions, many to Borneo. The glorious days of the Malaccan sultanate were over.

CHAPTER 1

Exercise 1

Circle the correct response to the following:

1. Which of the following chiefdoms dominated the Straits waters between the 7th and 13th centuries?

a. Riau Islands
b. Siam
c. Melayu
d. Srivijaya

2. ***Adat*** refers to

a. the ruler's supernatural aura of kingship.
b. Malay custom that has the strength of law.
c. the balance of power in the Srivijayan kingdom.
d. the Srivijayan Hindu-Buddhist caste system.

3. The Srivijayan empire gained control of the sea trade

a. by buying off the orang laut and recruiting them as policing coast guards and for the navy.
b. by subduing the orang laut by force.
c. with the help of the Chinese fleets.
d. by forcing the headmen to pledge their manpower and total allegiance.

4. The Srivijayan court was originally located at

a. Melayu.
b. Singapore.
c. Palembang.
d. the Moluccas.

5. The Malays learned to read and write through

a. traveling Muslim missionaries.
b. Christian missionaries.
c. the Portuguese.
d. the imam.

6. Apart from the ruling family, the most powerful group in the Malacca empire was

a. the harbor master.
b. the religious teachers.
c. the orang kaya.
d. the warriors.

7. Which of the following is not one of the 5 pillars of Islam?

a. Confessing to belief in Allah and the prophet Mohammed.
b. The 5 daily prayers of purification.
c. Obeying one's parents and respecting one's elders.
d. Pilgrimage to Mecca.

8. Before his conversion, to Islam Sultan Muhammad Shah was known as

a. Raja Muda.
b. Raja Tengah.
c. Paramesvara.
d. Hang Tuah.

9. The Portuguese's main purpose of going to the East was

a. for exploration.
b. for territorial expansion.
c. to find a new route to America.
d. to take advantage of the lucrative trade.

10. The following are all true of the Babas except

a. they practiced the Muslim religion faithfully.
b. they were Chinese settlers who lived outside the Malay villages.
c. they spoke a Chinese version of Malay.
d. they were entirely self-governing.

Exercise 2

Give the Malay terms for the following and provide a short definition for the term.

1. The Srivijayan ruler was believed to be endowed with this.
2. Rulers had to accept a decision or risk revolt if it was arrived at this way.
3. This weapon was believed to possess magical powers.
4. When a Malay person was ill, he would consult this person.
5. Missionaries transcribed the Malay language using this.

Exercise 3

Fill in the blanks in the following.

1. Many traders' ships took shelter from the monsoon winds in the harbors of the ____________.
2. ________ and _________ grew only in the Moluccas and were prized as food flavorings and preservatives.
3. The Chinese emperor demanded to be paid in ________ in trade dealings with other countries.
4. Srivijaya managed to keep the sea and trade routes free from________ .
5. ________ became a center of learning for Hindu and Buddhist priests.
6. The Srivijayan prince, ________________ , was forced to flee from Melayu.
7. The first Malay sultan to convert to Islam was ________________ .
8. The four main areas linked by trade with the Malay Peninsula were the west coast of India, the east coast of India, the East Indian islands and ___________ .
9. The two classes in Malay society were the ____________ and the ___________________ .
10. Administrative power in the Malaccan sultanate was held by the ___________________ .

Exercise 4

Write a short essay on any of the following topics:

1. How did the Srivijayan empire consolidate its power and maintain a balance of power in the kingdom?

2. How was status measured in the Malay world? Compare this to the way in which status is measured in contemporary American society.

3. Islam became an integral part of Malay culture and influenced many aspects of the lives of the Malay people. To what extent does Christianity influence Western culture today?

Exercise 5 (Creative writing)

1. Imagine that you are a trader in Malacca in 1500. You have just met an Indian merchant who has arrived in Malacca for the first time. Explain to him the system of administration in Malacca and give him advice on what types of goods are available for trade with the Chinese merchants who will soon be returning to China.

   Later you take your new friend on a tour of the city. Describe the sights and sounds that you encounter on your walk through the port area, including the variety of peoples and customs and trading goods.

2. You are the official scribe in charge of keeping the ship's log for the journey of Vasco da Gama to the Spice Islands. Record the trading patterns that you have learned about in the Southeast Asian region. Make sure to note what products are available in different areas of the trading network. Also describe the different experiences you encounter in your dealings with the orang laut, the Malays, and others in the region.

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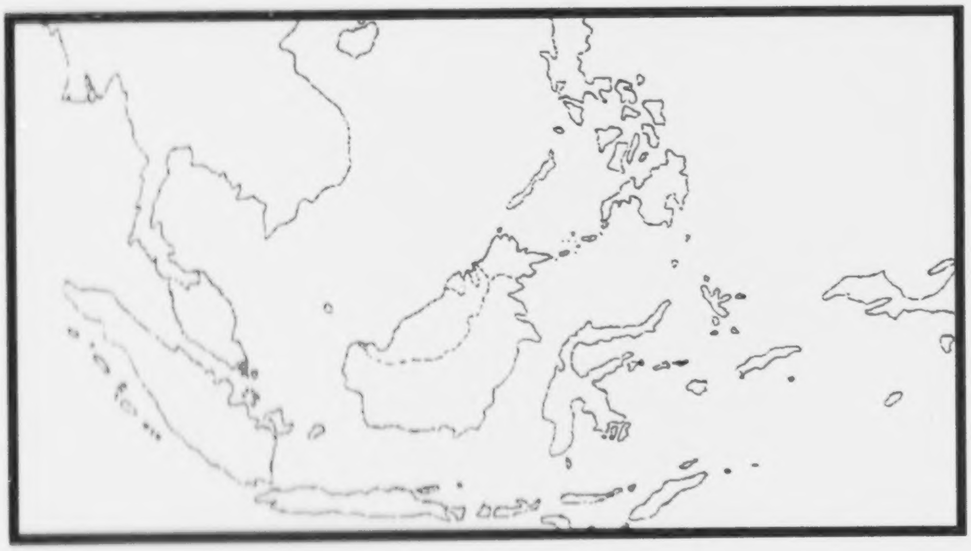
Exercise 6

On the map below, mark and name the following:

1. the original location of the Srivijayan court
2. Paramesvara built and named this city
3. The Malay Peninsula
4. Strait of Malacca
5. Borneo
6. Sumatra
7. South China Sea
8. Moluccas



Chapter II

The British Presence in the Region, 1784-1942

After the Portuguese took Malacca in 1511, other European nations arrived to stake their claim to trade in the Malay region. In 1602 the Dutch East India Company settled in Batavia (Jakarta) on Java and made it their headquarters for Dutch colonies in Asia. The Dutch took Malacca from the Portuguese in 1641. By 1650 the Dutch had moved up to the island of Sulawesi, where they subdued the Macassars and the Bugis, and then crossed over to the Moluccas, where they succeeded in securing a monopoly of the spice trade.

Both the Portuguese and the Dutch traded with the riverine chiefdoms. A river chief supervised scattered villages in a district; smaller village groups were administered by a headman, often with assistance from the mosque prayer leader, *imam*. The peasants lived in thatched huts and worked in the fields, growing rice, sago, tapioca, and fruit for their own use. If the peasant were to sell his harvest or produce a surplus for his own profit, he risked having his crops confiscated by the river chief. In order to protect themselves from external pressure the villagers learned to help and depend on each other. This custom of mutual assistance is called *gotong royong*.

The chief was hardly a lord, nor was his lifestyle as magnificent as a sultan's. His chiefdom preserved all the splendid titles of Malacca's court but without any of the functions. The *Temenggong* had no police force; the *Laksamana*, no fleet. The chief's *istana*, was hardly a palace, but several buildings, woven of palm fronds and set on wooden piles, within a bamboo-fenced compound. Near the *istana* was the audience hall, a three-sided frame structure containing three rising platforms. Here in the cool of the morning and the evening the chief, seated on the highest platform draped in yellow cloth, would receive his subjects.

The chiefs quarreled among themselves for rights to collect trade revenues. A chief had to buy protection from pirates in order to safeguard his trading territory. The problem was further complicated by the impossibility of knowing who was a pirate. A pirate could change occupations with the season—an *orang laut* trader in one season, in another, a pirate.

Of all the pirates the most feared were the ferocious Bugis from Sulawesi. They swept across the Java Sea overpowering one chiefdom after another and finally succeeded in controlling the most valuable cargoes: batiks from Java, pepper from Sumatra, tin from the Peninsula, and gold from the west coast of Borneo.

In order to stop Bugis disruption of their trade the Dutch decided to launch an attack on the main Bugis trading center. However, although they defeated the Bugis in 1784, the Dutch were already declining as a commercial power.

Almost a century after the Dutch East India Company had occupied Java, the British East India Company established its headquarters in Calcutta, India. From Calcutta the British developed not only trade between India and England but a trade among ports in Asia, which they called their "country trade." Their fast-sailing ships expedited shipments of coffee, condiments, cotton and raw silk; gunpowder; and drugs, especially opium, which could be sold along the route to China. When they realized that their country trade was being threatened by competition from French, Danish, and American merchant ships, the British decided to extend their position beyond India and establish a naval base in the Malay region. If they could exploit the trade-offs for power among Malay chieftains to their advantage, they might obtain a British base without the use of military force.

Four northern Malay states—Kelantan, Terengganu, Kedah, and Patani—had long been subject to Thailand. The four sultans supplied whatever the Thai king demanded and regularly paid tribute in the form of a glittering bouquet of flowers made of gold and silver, *bunga emas*. The ultimate insult came when Rama I demanded that the four sultans travel to Bangkok and kneel before his throne. No Malay sultan could humble himself to another ruler. The Sultan of Patani refused and saw his lands devastated by Thai troops on elephants. The Sultans of Kelantan and Terengganu sent envoys. The Sultan of Kedah sent his son and brother-in-law but looked around for an ally against Thai tyranny. He found the British receptive. In exchange for British protection against the Thai, the Sultan of Kedah leased to the British the neighboring island of Penang.

At the time the British Governor-General in India was Lord Cornwallis, who had just been assigned to Calcutta after his surrender at Yorktown in the American colonies. He chose Francis Light, one of the country traders, to establish the British base on Penang. In August 1786 Light landed with a small force and began to build a town and fort around the small Chinese settlement. Within the year Light was receiving overtures from other sultans, who hoped to obtain the same kind of British support against their oppressors that the British had offered Kedah. The Selangor and the Riau-Johor sultanates also fostered an association with the English for trading purposes.

From 1795 the Dutch permitted the English to take over several Dutch ports in the archipelago to prevent them falling into the hands of Napoleonic France. Malacca was occupied in 1795 and Java in 1811. But British rule on Java was short-lived, for the colonies were returned to the Dutch in 1816. Thomas Stamford Raffles, having lost his job as Lieutenant-Governor of Java, persuaded his superiors to let him scout for another British base. He wanted a port that would guarantee free passage for British ships into the Strait; a harbor that could accommodate large ships. He envisioned a trading center that could serve as a clearinghouse for British merchandise. He dreamed of a capital where Britain could host local potentates and foreign diplomats. After exploring several sites Raffles finally settled on one of the Riau islands that was in the right location and had a fine deepwater harbor. On February 6, 1819, Raffles signed a treaty with the a son of the Sultan of Riau-Johor to sign over the island for British occupancy. At the time there were less than two hundred people living on the island, some Malay fisherman and a few

Chinese cultivators. This island, Raffles predicted, would grow into a great city and become the emporium of the seven seas. This island was Singapore.

Singapore mushroomed into a vigorous commercial town. Malays came down from the Peninsula, and Chinese streamed in from Penang and Malacca. By 1824 there were ten thousand inhabitants, about three thousand Malays; more than one thousand Chinese. A mixture of Arabs, Bugis, Javanese, Indians; Armenians, and some English and Scottish merchants made up the rest. Its migrant population with a scarcity of women gave it the character of a frontier town. Singapore was designated a free port, which means that its profits came from volume of trade rather than from taxes on products traded. Singapore prospered.

The Treaty of London in 1824 divided Malay lands between the Dutch and the British. By drawing an imaginary line through the middle of the Strait, areas to the north and east—Malacca and Singapore—were assigned to the British. Sumatra and the Riau islands to the south and west were added to the Dutch administration on Java.

In 1826 Penang, Malacca, and Singapore were incorporated as the Straits Settlements, and Singapore later designated the capital. The Straits Settlements were governed as overseas dependencies of the East India Company in Calcutta, which was itself subject to Britain's Colonial Office in London.

Every year more and more Chinese came to live in Malacca, Penang, and Singapore, finding in these British colonies a greater degree of law and order than they had known in China. The *Baba*, almost all of whom spoke English, had little in common with these later-arriving countrymen who spoke only Chinese. Many of these new arrivals were skilled artisans. They built boats, laid bricks, or tanned hides. Some were pharmacists or morticians, some made guns, locks, and watches. Others set up shop as barbers, bakers, tailors, or became innkeepers and restauranteurs. In the Straits Settlements, where labor was scarce and every kind of service was needed, the Chinese started their own shops or businesses.

This new group of Chinese workmen was welcomed by the British, who profited even further from taxes that they had already placed on pawnshops, liquor, pork, and opium, all of which corresponded to prevalent habits of Chinese laborers. Both the British and the Chinese needed a fresh labor supply for their new industries. The British planned to extract natural products which could become marketable commodities. Some of the *Baba* Chinese had by this time become wealthy enough to invest capital in new undertakings.

The Peninsula is a natural source of tin as there are abundant deposits of exceptionally high quality. Tin crystals are found in granite; the crystals are released by erosion and are washed downstream as alluvial deposits. Malays used to pan the river beds and smelt the tin in charcoal furnaces into ingots.

In the 1850s the discovery of large tin deposits in Perak and Selangor coincided with an urgent demand for tin plate from new canning factories in Europe and the United States. To meet the demand, both British and Chinese capitalists leased tracts of land from the Malay chiefs, in return for a percentage (20 to 35 percent) of the value of the output. The Malay sultans and chiefs chose to lease their lands for a share in the profits instead of supplying labor to work in the mines. They did not object to having mine workers imported from China, for they were as reluctant to have the Malay peasant taken away from farming as the peasant was reluctant to work in the mines.

Chinese miners were brought to Malaya by a system of debt-slavery, that is, working off a debt. Wealthy Chinese would pay for the immigrants' passage from China in return for a certain number of years of work in the mines. Before leaving China these recruits would be sworn into servitude in a secret ceremony. Upon arrival, each group of miners was put under the charge of a foreman, *Kapitan China*, who spoke their dialect. They were housed in barracks and worked as a clan group, *kong-si*. Each *kong-si* had its own secret oaths and ceremonies which reinforced total obedience to the group. The miners had to endure long hours of hard labor under strict discipline; their only diversions were gambling, drinking, and frequenting brothels and opium dens.

The *Kapitan China* kept order within the *kong-si* (usually to his own benefit) and was the only link the miners had to life outside the mines. The various *kong-si* rarely rose up in any outside protest, but they were continuously skirmishing in gang wars with each other.

The tin industry prospered. The Chinese devised ways of using chain pumps and waterwheels to dredge greater depths and reach richer deposits. More tin was required for new manufactures, such as copper alloys and tin plate containers. Other technologies found new uses for Peninsular products. Antimony was needed to give strength and hardness to metal alloys, especially lead.

The juice from the gutta-percha tree, it was found, could be molded under heat, yet would hold its shape when it cooled. Its use to coat underwater cable lines made possible the first trans-Atlantic telegraph cable. Tapioca, sugar, pepper, and gambier, which was found useful in the tanning industry, were grown commercially. Not only were more products marketed but their transport was expedited by the emergence of the steamship. Improved distribution from producer to consumer created a need for wholesalers and agents. The Chinese filled these positions and became the middlemen in this new export economy.

As the Malay rulers saw that the Chinese increasingly were making more money than the Malays, they complained to the British. In order to accommodate the Malay rulers and prevent any disruption to their profitable enterprises the British decided to impose more authority over Peninsular affairs. In 1867 the governance of the three Straits Settlements was moved from Calcutta to the Colonial Office in London. However, supervision from London did not in itself give the British greater control over the sultans. Something more was needed.

While the British were deliberating on what course to follow, an opportunity presented itself in Perak. The Sultan of Perak died, leaving three contenders for his throne. One of the three, Raja Abdullah, decided on a winning strategy. If the British would support him as sultan, he would accept a British Resident as an adviser. The Resident was to be responsible for the judiciary and the state administration—in effect, was to have control over the courts, lands, mines, and treasury. Raja Abdullah as sultan would retain all authority over Malay religion and *adat* law.

The first Resident in Perak managed to offend everybody and was murdered within the year. His successor, Hugh Low, was quite the opposite. His fluency in Malay and his deference for *adat* law won respect from the Perak chiefs. He abolished the system of debt-slavery. He allowed the headmen to resume authority for law enforcement and placed both Chinese and Malays on a development council for modernizing Perak. A railroad track and telegraph lines provided the first access to the interior jungle. Low played a major role in the modernization of Perak. And, in the process, he propelled the tin industry to unprecedented profits: tin revenue more than tripled between 1879 and 1887.

The Residency system was finalized by the Pangkor Treaty of 1874. Following the example set in Perak—though not at the request of any other sultan—the British appointed Residents in Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, and Pahang, the heartlands of the plantation and mining industries. In 1895 these areas were named the Federated Malay States and placed under the central administration of a British Resident-General. Kuala Lumpur, in Selangor, was named the capital in 1896.

The British offered the sultans a number of inducements to persuade them to accept the Residency system. They compensated the sultans generously for any habitual income they may have lost by accepting a Resident. By pensioning off the nobles or assigning them official duties, the British eliminated former pretenders to the sultan's throne. Though the sultanate was governed by a State Council advised by the Resident, the sultan, in consultation with his own chiefs, retained authority over issues of *adat* and Islamic laws. It was said that the British adviser ruled, and the Malay ruler advised.[3]

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[3] J. M. Gullick, Malaysia (New York: Praeger, 1969), 55.

The purpose of placing a Resident beside a sultan was threefold: to maintain law and order, to develop the sulatnate's resources for greater yield, and to set up a taxation system that would provide enough surplus to allow further development. It was more convenient to pursue these goals by indirect rule—that is, installation of Residents as advisers—than by direct rule, which implies outright annexation or strict controls over subject peoples. The Residency system introduced precisely the kind of entrepreneurial economy based on extracting commercial products that the British desired. British intrusion is well expressed by the Malay proverb, "Once the needle is in, the thread is sure to follow."[4]

Education in the Malay states had been supplied by schools that gave instruction in the Koran; schools that taught the Tamil, Chinese, or Arabic languages; and—in the Straits Settlements—schools operated by Christian missionaries. In the 1870s the British decided to set up Malay-language primary schools. Some schools teaching the Koran were converted into Malay primary schools to teach the Malay language, arithmetic, and hygiene. This policy was intended to instruct the villagers, but not to change either their occupation or take them away from their villages. It was officially described as a way "to improve the bulk of the people and to make the son of the fishermen or the peasant educated to be a more intelligent fisherman or peasant than his father had been."[5]

Many Englishmen were interested in Malay culture, and a number of the Residents devoted themselves to serious scholarship on Malay customs and beliefs. But of those British who found Malay culture fascinating, many continued to describe Malays as resistant to change and indifferent to self-government. It was to Britain's advantage to leave the Malays in their traditional village society and exclude them from the work force established by the British. In this way Britain thought to preserve the sociocultural balance.

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[4] David Joel Steinberg et al., In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History (New York: Praeger, 1971; reprint ed., Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), 140.

[5] H. R. Chessman, "Education in Malaya, 1900-41," The Malayan Historical Journal 1, no. 2 (July 1955): 35.

Nonetheless, the balance was being overturned by increasing numbers of urban Chinese whose standard of living outdistanced that of the Malays in the countryside. The Chinese grew richer in the cities. City life not only offered prospects of a rising income, but it also provided access to hospitals and banks, as well as to such popular forms of entertainment as the cinema.

Muslims did not move to the cities readily. In the minds of some conservative Muslims, Western entertainment was equated with immorality. Although Islam placed a ban on charging interest on bank loans, a practice essential to a capitalist economy, it had little effect on the predominantly agrarian Malay society. Though poor, the Malay peasant was reluctant to leave the serenity and familiarity of the village. Not only were rich and poor separated, but the Chinese rich and the Malay poor created a racially polarized economy. No one foresaw the consequences of this unequal division.

Rubber trees grow wild in the Malayan jungle, or, when planted in a field, will mature without much tending. To grow rubber as a cash crop was first suggested to Malaya by English botanists who had noticed the success of Brazil's rubber on the world market. They sent a shipment of Brazilian rubber seeds to the Singapore Botanical Gardens. The few seeds that survived were sent upcountry to become the source of Malaya's enormous rubber industry.

Henry Ford's mass-production of automobiles led to an explosive demand for rubber tires. European firms bought up small plantations of sugar, gambier, and tapioca and turned them into rubber estates. Malay and Chinese smallholders substituted rubber for other crops in the hope of selling rubber acreage to Europeans. Between 1905 and 1908 the total area planted in rubber increased fivefold. By 1916 rubber was Malaya's chief export.

Once again a wave of immigrants accompanied the introduction of an export crop. This time the immigration was semi-officially sponsored. An Indian Immigration

Committee was set up in 1907 by the government and private planters were to regulate the importation of Indians as rubber tappers. Recruits from southern India had their round trip passages paid within a three-year period. The number of Indians in Malaya increased 77 percent between 1911 and 1921, but 61 percent of those returned to India. Replacements kept the number of Indian laborers in Malaya nearly constant.

The Indian rubber tappers were housed on the estates and assigned the monotonous task of patrolling the groves to slash the trees and catch the liquid latex in a cup. Life on a rubber estate was an improvement over life in a village in India, but low wages and caste restrictions allowed the Hindu rubber tappers few diversions and little opportunity to improve their situation.

As had been the case with the Chinese, the later immigrants from India had little in common with their countrymen who had lived in Malaya for a long time. The resident Indians had come to Malaya with an assortment of job skills and over the years they had acquired a familiarity with the English language. Some had become accountants and lawyers; others held jobs on railways or in the postal service. Sikhs were often policemen and watchmen; Chettiars, textile merchants and moneylenders. Some of these Indians were Hindu; some, Muslim.

Most had settled along the Peninsula's west coast in areas that were relatively well developed. Their standard of living was considerably above that of the rubber tappers.

However disparate in occupational lifestyle, nearly all of the Indian immigrants were committed to remaining in Malaya and not returning to their overcrowded country. Indian residents did not have a cultural unity as the Malays did, nor did they live in homogeneous communities as the Chinese did. However, the wave of Indian immigration injected so many Indians into the population that Indians became the third largest racial group in Malaya. At this point Malaya became a plural society.

When the British realized that the Chinese and Indians were filling most of the government positions, they decided to train some qualified Malays. They would educate a few sons of Malay aristocrats in the British tradition "to ensure a supply of qualified leaders and subordinate officials." [6]

In 1905 the Malay College, the "Eton of the East," was opened at Kuala Kangsar, Perak. The boys came to the college at the age of nine or ten from Malay-language schools and lived in houses which were named after Malay sultans. As the boys knew why they had been recruited, they nicknamed their school the "Gateway to High Rank". The positions were not truly of high rank, however, but medium-level jobs like clerks, translators, medical aides, or surveyors' assistants. These jobs were beneath those filled by European civil servants, but above those held by any Malay commoners. They were not open to Chinese or Indians.

In 1909 a Federal Council was formed to tighten the central government's control over the Federated Malay States. The Council consisted of the sultans of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang; the Resident-General, and four members nominated by the Governor. Laws of the State Councils could now be superseded by decisions of the Federal Council. Again following the example set in Perak, the Federal Council invited business and professional leaders to come together for decision-making. This legislative assembly was the forerunner of Malaysia's House of Representatives, the *Dewan Rakyat*.

The long-standing border dispute between the Malay Peninsula and Thailand was finally settled in 1909. Patani stayed in Thailand. Thailand agreed to transfer Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, and Terengganu from Thai to British rule. These four northern states, remaining outside the central administration of the Federated Malay States, were called the Unfederated Malay States. Johor was added to the group in 1914. British rule on the Peninsula was thus divided into three constitutional groups: the three Straits Settlements, the four Federated Malay States, and the five Unfederated Malay States. Each group was administered somewhat differently, but the colonial administration was increasingly filled by British officials. The sultans were removed from the Federal Council in 1927 and set up as a separate group called the Durbar of Rulers, which was a forerunner of the present Conference of Rulers.

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[6] Peter J. Wilson, A Malay Village and Malaysia: Social Values and Rural Development. (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1967), 100. The Malay College did not admit women until 1947.

By 1914 rubber had passed tin as Malaya's largest export. Rubber accounted for 27 percent of Malaya's export income in 1916 and 60 percent by 1929, a year in which tin and rubber together accounted for four-fifths of Malaya's export income. When the boom days for tin and rubber ended in the world-wide economic depression of the 1930s, Malaya sought to become more self-sufficient by producing more alternative crops and growing more food for home consumption. The most successful of the new crops were oil palm and pineapple. Palm oil is used in many ways—as a lubrication grease, in processing tin plate and coating iron, and as an ingredient in soap, candles, vegetable oils, margarine, and chocolate. There was a growing market for pineapple and tea, although the acreage devoted to tea remained small. Rice remained a constant crop, but by 1940 locally grown rice filled only one-third of domestic needs. Many foodstuffs and other goods, such as building materials and machinery, still had to be imported.

Although Malay farmers continued to grow rice and a few other cash crops they had no share in the export wealth of the country. They supplied produce to the village shops and warehouses which were owned by Chinese. The Chinese middlemen arranged for goods to be transported to urban Chinese wholesalers, who then sold the merchandise to large trading companies headed by Europeans. At the peak of this distribution pyramid were the British. They and other Europeans were supported by the Chinese capitalists, who, in turn, were supported by the Malay peasants and the Indian laborers.

The British assumed that they had been successful in keeping a racial equilibrium because they had assigned a function to each racial group. This policy was tilted, they believed, in favor of the Malays. However, the British had failed to calculate the consequences of bringing in so many non-Malay immigrants. The immigrants who had lived in Malaya for a long time now wanted rights as residents. Britain had not solved the dilemma that its own policy had created: how to grant citizenship rights to the Chinese and the Indians without infringing on rights it had granted to the Malays.

By 1940 the number of Chinese in the population was about the same as the number of Malays. Indians accounted for about a tenth of the population; Europeans, for a small percentage. Nowhere else in Southeast Asia was the Chinese population as large as in the British territories of Southeast Asia.

World War II brought devastating changes to the area. On December 6, 1941, the Japanese took over Kota Baru in Kelantan and proceeded to move convoys of tanks and troops down the Peninsula toward Singapore. The British preparing for a Japanese attack, had turned their artillery toward the sea. The Japanese attacked from the rear. Singapore surrendered to the Japanese on February 15, 1942. The loss of Singapore was a disaster for the Allied forces. It was also the beginning of the end for Britain's empire in Southeast Asia.

CHAPTER 2

Exercise 1

I) Describe the major events that occurred during the following years.

1. 1511
2. 1602
3. 1641
4. 1650
5. 1784

II) Arrange the following events in chronological order starting from the earliest event and give the year in which the event occurred.

1. Francis Light arrived in Penang.
2. Malacca, Penang and Singapore were placed directly under the colonial office in London.
3. Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Terengganu came under British rule.
4. The Treaty of London was signed.
5. Thomas Raffles obtained British rights to Singapore.
6. Johor joined the Unfederated Malay States.
7. Malacca, Penang and Singapore were incorporated into the Straits Settlements.
8. Raja Abdullah agreed to accept a British Resident as Advisor in Perak.
9. The Federated Malay States were formed.
10. Malacca came under British rule.

Exercise 2

Match the names with the places listed on the right.

1.	Raja Abdullah	_____	a.	Bangkok
2.	Francis Light	_____	b.	Perak
3.	Rama I	_____	c.	Singapore
4.	Cornwallis	_____	d.	Penang
5.	Thomas Raffles	_____	e.	Bengal

Exercise 3

Circle the correct response to the following:

1. The custom of gotong royong required
a. villagers to help and depend on each other.
b. farmers to produce a surplus of crops.
c. villages to be supervised by a headman.
d. villagers to obey the village mosque official.

2. The Bugis were
a. peasants who lived as nuclear families and worked in the fields.
b. a small Chinese community in Malacca who combined Chinese customs with Malay culture.
c. Malay adventurers who frequently traveled the Java Sea.
d. notorious pirates who overpowered the Malay chiefdoms and dominated the Straits trade.

3. Why did the Dutch enlist British aid in expelling the Bugis?
a. The British understood the customs and language of the Bugis.
b. The British had superior artillery and steam-powered gunboats.
c. The British were obligated to return the Dutch a favor.
d. The British were renowned for their skillful warriors.

4. The sultans considered which of the following as the ultimate insult by Rama I?
a. Paying tribute in the form of the bunga emas.
b. Traveling to Bangkok to kneel before Rama I.
c. Being regarded as weaker countries by Thailand.
d. Giving their soldiers to Rama I.

5. In return for protection against the Thais,
a. the Sultan of Kedah leased Penang island to the British.
b. the Sultan of Perak invited a British Resident to rule with him.
c. the sultans promised to pay tribute to the British.
d. the sultans allowed the British build a fort on Penang island.

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6. The Treaty of London
a. ceded Singapore to the British
b. was signed between the British and the Dutch
c. allowed a British Resident to remain in Perak
d. promised protection to the Sultan of Kedah in exchange for Penang Island

7. All of the following apply to the kong-si except
a. They were mine laborers brought to Malaya by wealthy Chinese.
b. Each kong-si required strict obedience from its members.
c. They were notorious gangsters who robbed the wealthy businessmen.
d. They worked under the Kapitan China.

8. The British Residency system
a. began with Hugh Low acting as the British Resident in Perak
b. was an effective way for the British to gain indirect control over the Malay States
c. allowed the Malay ruler to retain power over the state treasury
d. fulfilled the Malay rulers' needs by protecting them from the Portuguese

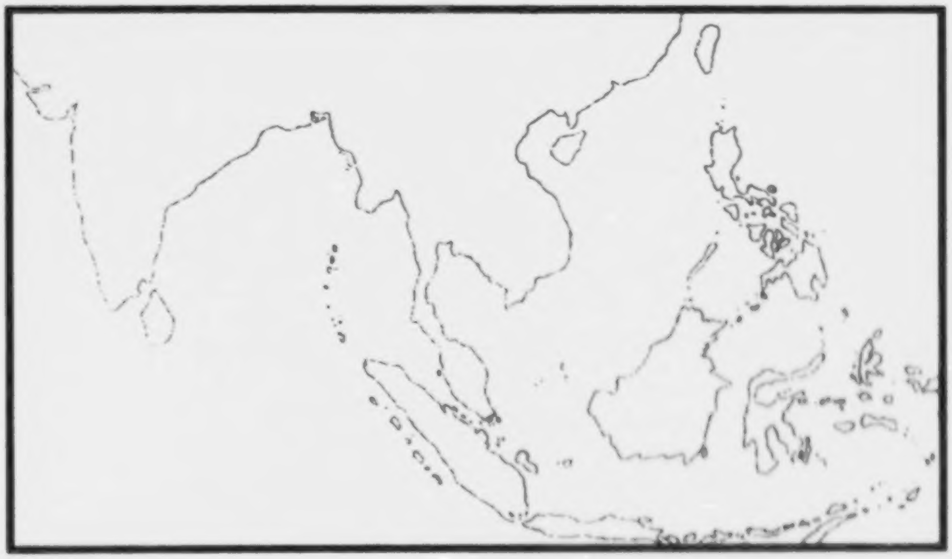
9. With the development of rubber as a new export crop,
a. more Chinese immigrants were brought into the country.
b. the Malay peasants found a way to advance themselves economically.
c. Malay and Chinese smallholders gave up all their other crops.
d. a new wave of Indian immigrants arrived in Malaya.

10. The Federal Council was formed to
a. tighten the central government's control over the Federated Malay States.
b. settle disputes among the Malay States.
c. protect the Malay States against the Thais and the Dutch.
d. streamline trading operations in the Far East.

Exercise 4

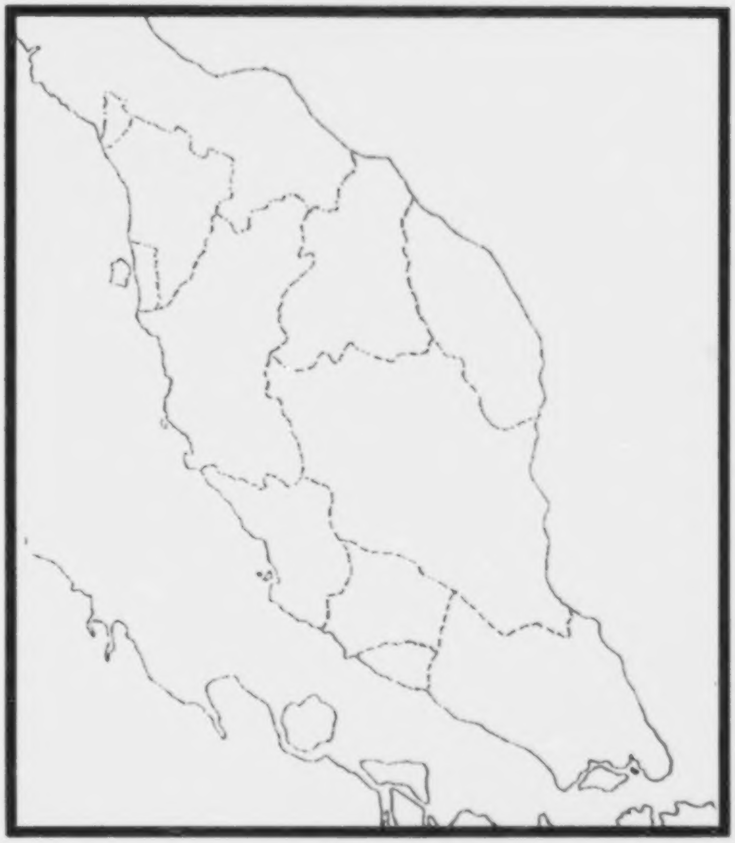
I. On the map below, indicate and name the following:

1. The capital of the Dutch colonies in Asia
2. Java
3. The home of the Bugis people
4. Headquarters of the English East India Company
5. The islands known for spice trade
6. The country that demanded annual tribute in the form of the bunga emas
7. The island leased to the British by the Sultan of Kedah
8. The island on which the British established a post under Raffles.



II. On the map below, mark and name the following (use different colors for each group of states in (1), (4) and (6)):

1. The 3 Straits Settlement States
2. Straits Settlement capital
3. The 4 Federated Malay States
4. Capital of the Federated Malay States
5. The 5 Unfederated Malay States



Exercise 5

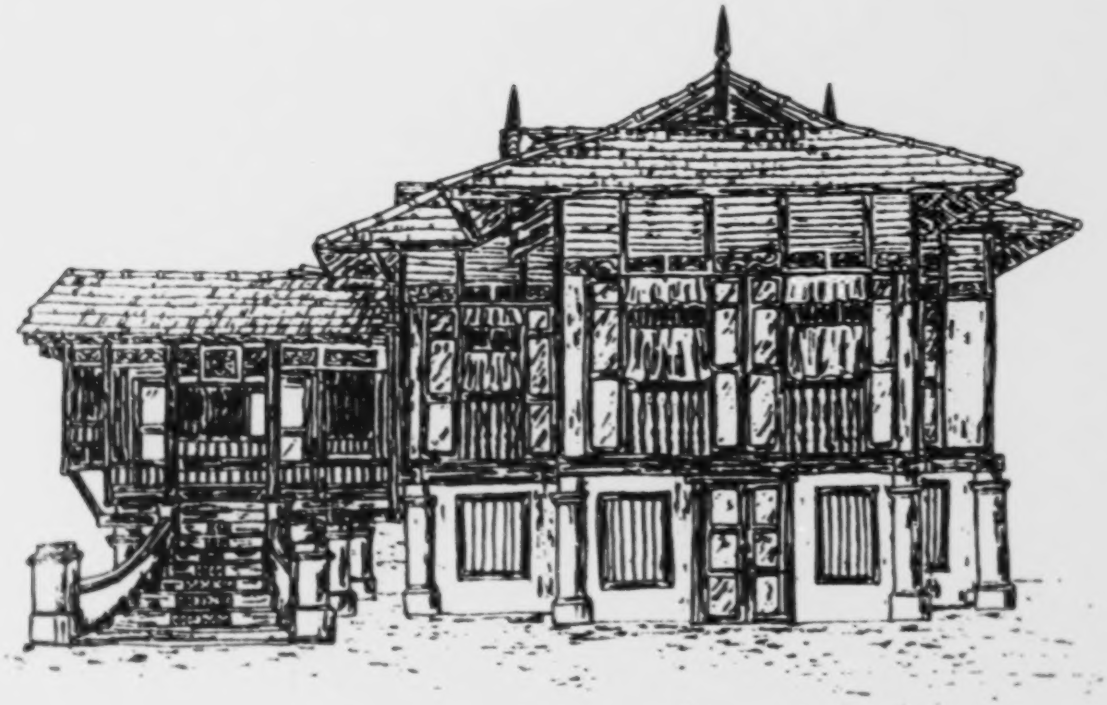
1. How did the British obtain the title to Penang Island?
2. What were the British Resident's main aims?
3. How did the Residency system achieve the British's goals?
4. Why did the British exclude the Malays from the entrepreneurial workforce?
5. Name the 3 constitutional groups under British rule in the Malay Peninsula.

Exercise 6

Write a short essay on any of the following topics:

1. Compare the ways in which the British and the Srivijayan (refer to chapter 1) empires consolidated their power in Southeast Asia.

2. As vassals of Thailand, the Malay Sultans were required to pay tribute in the form of gold to the King of Thailand. To protect themselves from Thailand's demands they sought an ally in the British. Discuss the short and long term effects of such a decision.



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Chapter III

Toward Independence: Malaya To Malaysia

The Japanese made Singapore their headquarters and renamed it Syonan ("The Light of the South"). They moved the British and all Allied nationals into prison camps. The small group of middle-class Eurasians who were loyal to the British were not interned but were forced to give up their office jobs and turn to menial work or farming in order to survive. Japanese governors were assigned to all of the Malayan states except Perlis, Kelantan, and Terengganu, which were returned to Thailand. The Japanese crushed any resistance to its military government, particularly in Singapore.[1]

The Japanese had gone to war, in part, to eradicate Western colonialism and establish their own supremacy in an "Asia for the Asiatics." They depended on cooperation from the local people to maintain public works and especially to work in the tin, rubber, and oil industries, which were so necessary for Japan's continuing Pacific campaign. The Japanese, unlike the British, were opposed to the Chinese. The Chinese and the Japanese had been natural enemies since Japan had invaded China in 1937 and now Japan also ruled over Chinese in Malaya.

Both the Nationalists and Communists in China had sought support from Malayan Chinese. Chiang Kai-chek, leader of the Chinese Nationalists, depended on contributions from Chinese outside China for his war chest. Chiang Kai-chek claimed any person of Chinese ancestry—regardless of birthplace—as a citizen of China. Whether loyal to the Nationalists or the Communists in China, the Malayan Chinese as a group were brutally treated by the Japanese. Many retaliated by going underground or joining guerrilla forces. Some guerrillas fled into the interior where, supplied with arms air-dropped into the jungle by the British, they organized themselves into the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA).

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[1] Nevil Shute's 1950 novel The Legacy tells the story of an English girl who was sheltered in a Malay village during the Japanese Occupation. It was made into an Australian television series in 1981 as "A Town Like Alice."

The Japanese mobilized many Malayan Indians into an Indian National Army, which was scheduled to fight for an independent India. Other Indians were sent to Burma to work on railway construction.

The Japanese favored the Malays because they were the first inhabitants on the Peninsula. They incited Malay resentment against the Chinese and British by organizing mass protests. They staged pan-Malay conferences to encourage Malay solidarity. Under the Japanese Occupation Malay education and language training were expanded and Malays were placed in higher civil service positions. But such efforts did not yield the kind of results the Japanese wanted. Quite the reverse. The Malays did not develop a sense of identity with their Japanese fellow-Asians. Instead they developed a desire to belong to a Malay nation of their own.

Soon after the Japanese surrender in August 1945, the British reoccupied Malaya with troops from India. They and other Allied forces found Malaya, Singapore, and Borneo destitute. Tin mining and rubber production had come to a standstill. Crime and disorder, worthless currency, unemployment, food shortages, malnutrition, and disease had spread throughout the whole region. When the MPAJA guerrillas were called out of the hills they promptly took revenge on any persons who were known to have collaborated with the Japanese.

By April 1946 Britain had put a civilian government in place. Food and jobs were made available, and the currency again had value. Law and order were reinstated by a new country-wide police force. The MPAJA was disbanded with full ceremony and a parade. The Straits Settlements were restructured. Penang and Malacca were joined with the Malay States to form a Malayan Union. Singapore, with its large Chinese population, was separated from its sister Straits Settlements and made a Crown Colony, as were British North Borneo and Sarawak. Brunei remained a British protectorate.

Some groups in Malaya and Borneo looked forward to the reinstatement of colonial rule; others feared it; still others were reluctant to see the British return, yet had even more misgivings about any unknown governance. The lingering resentments between Malays and Chinese were still not yet resolved. Like most of the other colonial powers in the postwar climate which allowed new nations rights of self-determination, Britain was not opposed to independence for its colonies. But Britain was quite sure that the peoples of Malaya were not yet ready to govern themselves.

By granting equal rights to minorities the Malayan Union was meant to unite all races in Malaya. Anyone who had been born in Malaya or Singapore, or who had established residence there, could claim citizenship. Every citizen of any race would then be able to vote in a democratic election. This time the British governed by direct rule, for Britain now claimed authority over the sultans. The sultans were forced to relinquish all secular powers except those involving Islamic and customary law.

The Malayan Union was not popular. It was especially unpopular with the Malays. The Malays interpreted their sultans' loss of power as a loss of face. They felt disenfranchised by having to answer to a British authority that stood between them and their Malay rulers. Moreover, they felt that they had been demoted to minority status among several minority groups. When Sir Edward Gent was installed as the Union's first governor, Malay dignitaries did not attend the ceremony. For a Malay to flout ceremony is equivalent to drawing the sword. The Malay boycott forced the British to abandon the Malayan Union and reverse their race policy.

On February 1, 1948, Britain instituted a new government called the Federation of Malaya. The Federation reinstated rights of the Malays and restored the sovereignty of the sultans. Each state was to be ruled by its sultan and administered by a Malay chief executive and state secretary in cooperation with a British adviser (who was to be closely watched for any signs of behaving like a prewar Resident). Every Malay was a citizen. Citizenship was granted to every non-Malay born of parents who had been under

Federation jurisdiction for fifteen years. When rights of Malays were reinstated, the other races resented losing the rights which had so recently granted to them under the Malayan Union.

Within less than five months Malaya faced insurrection. The Chinese had resented the switch from equality under the Union to demotion below the Malays in the Federation. The Chinese Communists were particularly outraged. Failure to gain trade union support, followed by encouragement from the Soviet Union, led them to armed protest. They mobilized to take over all of Malaya.

Communist guerrillas spilled out of the hills and spread throughout the countryside. One out of ten English planters were murdered, as were many of the estate laborers. Managers of mines and rubber plantations were marked for assassination. Plantation buildings and machinery were demolished. A car left on the road would blow up in flames. Like pirates, the terrorists raided everything they came upon. Before they could be hunted down they vanished into the jungle—only to reappear somewhere else. The horror of the terrorists' attacks crushed any pro-Chinese sympathies that the Malays and Indians may possibly have had. Indeed, the brutality of Malaya's Communists shocked the world.

By the mid-1950s this relentless violence had broken the country's morale. In a desperate effort to end the massacre the government decided to cut off the terrorists' supplies by eliminating the suppliers. Clearly some of the Chinese were supplying the terrorists. To counter this, the government forcibly regrouped one half million Chinese squatters, resettling them in New Villages in remote areas.

The strategy worked. By 1955 the terrorist bands were dispersed. Some were wiped out and some fled to hideouts near the northern Thai border. That year Malaya negotiated a truce with the Communists at Baling, Kedah. The period from 1948 to 1955, which combined the years of terrorism with the first years of the Federation, is still referred to as "The Emergency." [2]

If the British did grant independence to Malaya, to whom should they grant it? There appeared to be no political party or any other kind of group that could take over the reins of government. If a nation is defined as a group of people with a distinctive common culture, Malaya hardly qualified. For the Malays, the basis of any nation-state would have to be the Malay traditional culture, reinforced by the Malay language. But the Chinese and Indians thought that a nation-state would have to be based on combined values of all the cultural groups. A third view, held by many English-educated Chinese and Indians, was that over time, all Malayans would come to share a common lifestyle that would be independent of any one of the ethnic cultures.

A new leadership group of Malays had emerged since the 1920s. Some of these new leaders were Malay-educated sons of Malay intelligentsia; some were Arab-educated religious reformers; and others were English-educated sons of the Malay aristocracy. This new elite was led by Onn bin Ja'afar, the Chief Minister of Johor. He had been educated first at the Malay College, then in England, and bore the honorary title of *Dato'*. It was Dato' Onn who had instigated the boycott at Governor Gent's installation.

The members of this new Malay elite had been inspired by national movements in other countries to form their own political party, the United Malay Nationalist Organization (UMNO) in 1946. Dato' Onn's wit and urbanity gave UMNO its initiative and negotiating power; his wisdom kept it on a non-violent course. Dato' Onn is remembered as the first great Malay leader. It was UMNO that finally forced the British to face the problem of how to accommodate the Malays under a British central authority without revoking non-Malay rights.

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[2] Noel Barber's War of the Running Dogs (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1971) is a vivid account of the Emergency. Anthony Burgess wrote three novels about this period: Time for a Tiger, The Enemy in the Blanket, and Beds in the East published as The Long Day Wanes: A Malayan Trilogy (New York: Norton, 1964).

In 1949 Tan Cheng Lock, a Malacca rubber baron, formed the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA). Tan, who bore the title *Tun*, was a prominent *Baba* who had been a member of the Straits Settlements Legislative Council from 1923 to 1934. As a Chinese in opposition to Dato' Onn, he had supported the Malayan Union's principle of equal rights for all races. He drew support from a select group of wealthy businessmen, tin-mine managers, and plantation owners, most of whom were Western-educated. The MCA was as dedicated to the goal of Malaya's becoming the kind of self-governing nation in which all races would be equal, as it was opposed to any government which treated Malays better than other races. The MCA attracted a measure of British support, primarily because of its anti-Communist stance, but it failed to win full British endorsement for two reasons. First, the British saw that MCA membership, by excluding the *kong-si*, trade unions, and key intellectuals, did not represent all Malayan Chinese. Secondly, the British were reluctant to entrust Malayan sovereignty to any Chinese political party.

Neither the Malay UMNO nor the Chinese MCA alone could be the embryo of a new nation-state. Two or three of the major races would have to be represented in whatever political party was chosen to negotiate independence. The right opportunity came in 1952. For the Kuala Lumpur municipal election, UMNO and the MCA combined to form one party called the Alliance. The Alliance won almost all of the seats on the city council. The head of the Alliance was Abdul Rahman, who held the hereditary royal title of *Tunku*. As a boy Abdul Rahman showed no signs of becoming a politician, and certainly not a statesman. He was a Kedah prince, born in 1903, one of forty-five legitimate children of the Sultan of Kedah and the seventh child of the Sultan's sixth wife. His mother, *Mak-Chek*, was an astute Thai-Burmese, who like Scheherazade in the *Arabian Nights* was both perceptive and clever enough to keep her own bank accounts. At thirteen, Abdul Rahman was sent to study at the Penang Free School, where most of the students came from wealthy Chinese and Indian families. The boys teased Abdul Rahman about his royal finery, such as the gold-embroidered pillows his mother had sent along with him.

But Abdul Rahman did not stand on his royal rank. He joined every school sports team and made many friends.

At seventeen, he went to England to prepare for the university. He was first placed at a rural Anglican school, where his schoolmates, knowing little-about Malay royalty, called him Bobby. Abdul Rahman was often seen motoring through the English countryside in his red sports car. The next year he enrolled at St. Catherine's College in Cambridge. The Prince was enthusiastic about English sports, especially horse racing, and he also was reputed to enjoy the stimulating London night life.

In 1931 Abdul Rahman returned to Kedah where he held a succession of high-level posts in the Kedah civil service. He returned to England in 1947, and two years later received his law degree. He then moved to Kuala Lumpur to become the deputy public prosecutor in the federal legal department. In 1951, at the age of forty-eight, he succeeded Dato' Onn as president of UNMO. In this post Tunku Abdul Rahman had to face opponents from several quarters. He dealt with reluctant British, reactionary Malays, cautious Chinese, and even volatile Communists with equal skill. His habit of holding private closed sessions with hostile groups until they could reach a consensus was called "Democracy in Camera." The multi-racial Alliance offered the British the kind of political party they had been waiting for. Now Malaya was ready for independence negotiations.

In many of the nations that became independent after World War II, independence had to be hard-won through armed struggle, or, at the least, by hard bargaining. This was not the case for Malaya. At eleven p.m. on July 2, 1954, the Tunku and his colleagues sat down with the British High Commissioner and his aides in the saloon of a British warship anchored off Singapore. In an amiable atmosphere the two sides agreed not to disagree.

The 1955 Federation elections confirmed the Alliance primacy. Now joined by the Malayan Indian Congress, the Alliance won all but one of the fifty-two Legislative

Council seats, the other forty-six held still by the British. The Alliance would be the party to negotiate the transfer of power.

In January 1956 the Tunku, now Chief Minister, flew to London to negotiate for immediate internal self-government, with independence promised for August 1957. The Alliance took the position that the sultans' rights had to be upheld; Islam had to be the recognized religion; and the economic level of Malays must be raised by law. The British stalled. The Alliance called a strike, asking that all members who held appointive positions in the British civil service resign. When the British faced the possibility of a nationwide shutdown of local, district, and federal councils, they resumed negotiations with the Alliance.

Singapore wanted to be included in any agreement for Malaya's independence, but Malaya was reluctant to share its independence with Singapore. Any Malay advantage in the first national election would be jeopardized if the vote had been extended to Singapore's largely Chinese electorate. Neither the British nor the Malayan government agreed with Singapore's terms for economic interdependence. Singapore considered itself integral to Malaya as the port for exporting Malaya's raw materials. Singapore was not present in January 1956 when a Constitutional Conference in London drafted plans for Malaya to become a self-governing nation within the British Commonwealth. As a gesture toward national unity, the Communists were offered amnesty in exchange for their unconditional surrender. Many surrendered, but some did not and vanished into the jungle. Independence was formally conferred on August 31, 1957. The Tunku was named Prime Minister. Singapore remained a Crown Colony.

The new constitution had met the Alliance demands. Islam was designated the official religion, though freedom of worship in other religions was guaranteed. Every five years the nine sultans were to choose one of themselves to serve as the Supreme Head of State, the *Yang Di-Pertuan Agong* of the Council of Rulers. Citizenship would be automatic for all births in Malaya and was extended to more Chinese and Indian residents. Malays were privileged over other races by law. English was allowed to be a second language for ten years so that the Chinese and Indians could use this time to learn Malay. Quotas were reserved for Malays in jobs and education. A certain percentage of civil service jobs and business licenses, such as permits for trucking and taxis, were reserved for Malays only. A percentage of scholarships and student admissions were allotted to Malays instead of being wholly based on qualifications of applicants.

By the time Malaya held its next elections in 1959, the Alliance had gained even more privileges for the Malays. The Malay language and a Malayanized curriculum were made compulsory in all schools regardless of their past language of instruction.

Not everyone was satisfied with this policy. In each party within the Alliance there were some who felt that its aristocratic leaders did not truly represent their interests. The Tunku lost his one of his strongest Chinese allies when Tan Cheng Lock of the MCA was defeated by a younger man. The Tunku's position was increasingly threatened by the radical politics of the Chinese in Singapore.

The Communists in Singapore had grown stronger, and Malaya was concerned about a possible Communist victory in an election there. A second concern was in regard to Singapore eventually joining Malaya, thus making its large Chinese population eligible to vote in a national election. In this situation the Chinese from Singapore would probably tip the election results and cause the Peninsula to fall under Communist rule. Neither Communist control of Singapore nor the prospect of their future participation in a Malay election appealed to the Tunku. The latter dilemma might be solved, however, if there would happen to be enough Malays in the Malayan electorate to balance the Chinese, even making them a minority. But where were extra Malays? The Tunku considered the numbers of Malays on Borneo. The Malay-Muslims in Sarawak and North Borneo could be weighed against the Chinese voters in Singapore.

On May 27, 1961, the Tunku was the guest speaker at a Southeast Asia Foreign Correspondents' luncheon in Singapore. Lee Kuan Yew, Chief Minister of Singapore, joined the group for drinks but did not stay for the Tunku's luncheon speech. He should have, for he missed one of the most dramatic statements ever made in Southeast Asian politics. The Tunku opened by saying that he had nothing important to say, but went on say that sooner or later, Malaya should have an understanding with Britain and the peoples of Singapore, North Borneo, Brunei, and Sarawak... and think of a plan whereby these territories could be brought closer together in political and economic cooperation.

The Tunku had just suggested a new country, Malaysia. The speech made world headlines. When Lee Kuan Yew heard about the idea, he could not have been more delighted. For years he had been trying to talk the Tunku into accepting Singapore into the Federation of Malaya. Now a merger was offered to him. Joining Malaysia might dilute the strength of his Communist rivals in Singapore and, even more optimistically, might prove to be an avenue to Singapore's independence. However, in other Southeast Asian countries the proposal for merging Singapore and Borneo into Malaysia set off an alarm. Indonesia and the Philippines, especially, feared being eclipsed by one new country that combined neighboring Singapore and Borneo.

Britain responded to the Tunku's idea by sending the Cobbold Commission (see page XX) to Borneo in order to sample opinions of the people. The results were generally positive. Declaring a "natural affinity" between the Peninsular Malays and the peoples of North Borneo and Sarawak, the Malayan government in Kuala Lumpur proceeded to carry out the Tunku's plan.

The definition of "who was a Malay" was broadened to include all inhabitants who had cultural affinities with people native to the region. Henceforth these peoples would be classified as *Bumiputera*, "Sons of the Soil." *Bumiputera* were subdivided into three groups: the *orang asli*; the Malays; and the Malay-related. The *orang asli* are the aborigines, or original forest dwellers. The Malays are the Muslims and all others who share their common cultural traits. All Muslims, including the Indians and Pakistani, are considered Malays. The Malay-related are non-Muslims of the same basic racial stock who were early migrants to the region. The *non-Bumiputera* are the Chinese, non-Muslim Indians, and other groups such as Singhalese and Eurasians.

It took two years to work out the details, but the merger as the Tunku had proposed was finalized on September 16, 1963, as the Federation of Malaysia. Brunei chose not to join. The sultan of Brunei desired rank over the other sultans and was reluctant to release control of Brunei's oil wealth to a government in Kuala Lumpur. Brunei remained a British-protected Muslim sultanate.

Indonesia and the Philippines would not recognize the new Malaysia. Both President Sukarno of Indonesia and President Macapagal of the Philippines interpreted the merger as territorial expansion equal to aggression. President Sukarno, calling the merger a "neo-colonialist plot" imposed a trade embargo which cut into the revenues of the free ports of Penang and Singapore. In a "Crush Malaysia" campaign, Indonesian troops crossed over the border into North Borneo and Sarawak. Armed raids and sabotage raised fears of declaration of war between Indonesia and Malaysia. The Philippines sided with Sukarno and threatened to claim North Borneo as an extension of their ancient Sulu lands. Throughout this Confrontation Malaysia held firm. In the face of threats from Indonesia and the Philippines, the races within Malaya seemed for the first time to find some internal unity.

Malaysia's first priority was economic development. The *First Malaysia Plan: 1966-1970* was designed to stimulate economic growth by introducing new industries and by extracting more marketable products from existing agriculture, forestry, and fisheries. It also offered equal employment opportunities to all races.

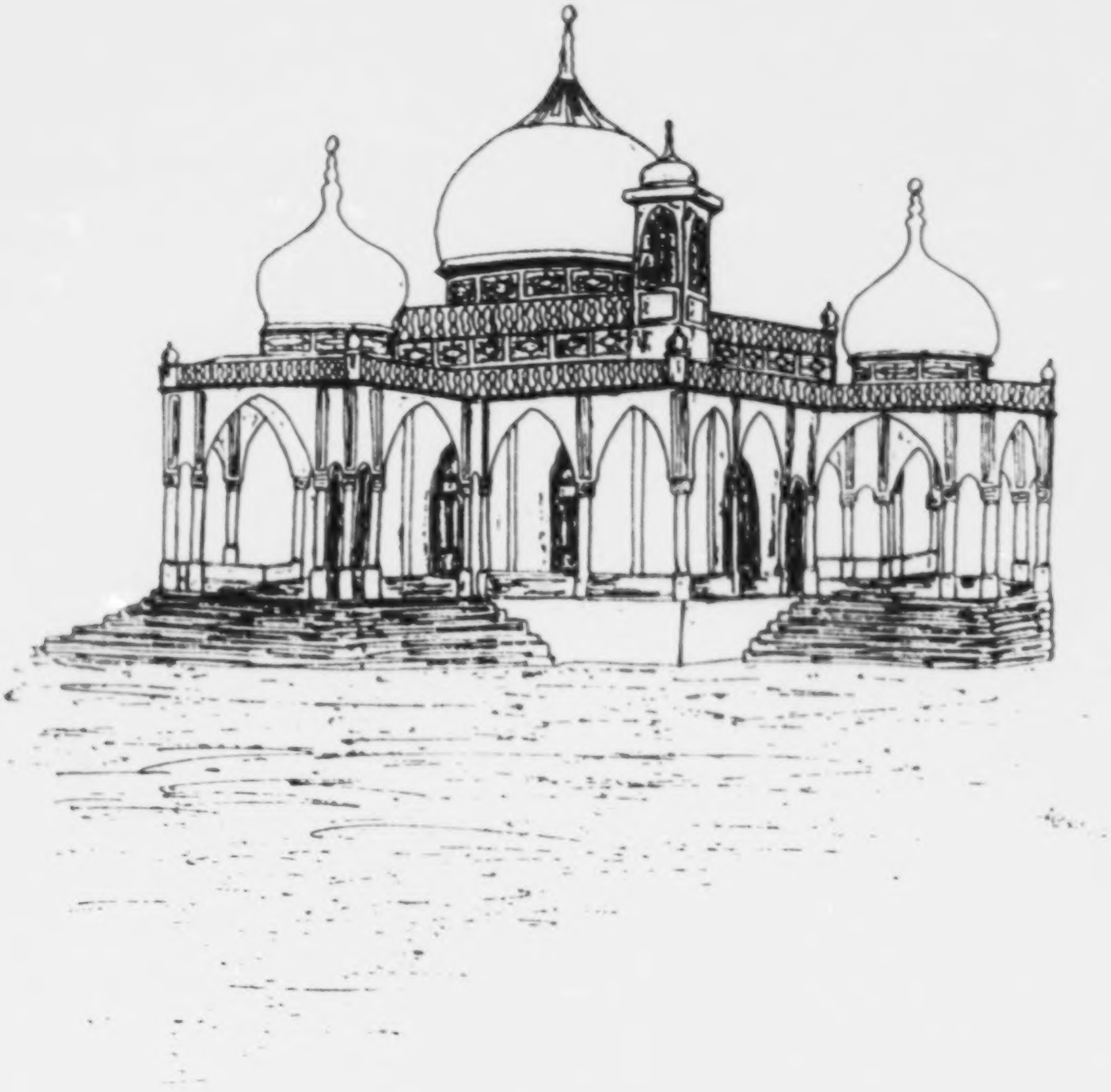
The program was more successful in promoting industries than it was in raising income levels. The government's efforts to improve the standard of living of Malays by resettlement programs, village projects, and credit and marketing incentives fell short of success. Funds appropriated for health and education brought few changes. The rural Malays stayed on the farm and shared few of the benefits enjoyed by the educated elite, who remained in charge of the strong urban economy.

Malaysia as a nation, however, continued to prosper because of its natural resources of tin, oil palm, timber, and petroleum. Singapore's economy in the past had been based on import-export trade. Now Singapore launched its own program of industrialization in direct competition with Malaysia. The two competed with each other in attracting semi-manufacturing industries such as light engineering, handicrafts, and the processing of foods. Singapore and Kuala Lumpur could not agree on any division of consumer goods that each would manufacture and sell to the same domestic market. Nor could they agree on customs duties and taxes. When the Malaysian Finance Minister suggested that Singapore turn over 60 instead of 40 percent of its port revenues to Kuala Lumpur, Singapore's Chief Minister, Lee Kuan Yew reacted sharply.

Lee's stand on racial equality had worried the Malaysian politicians who were always on the alert for any demotion of Malays to one minority among several. The Singapore press habitually attacked Malaysia's bias favoring the Malays. Relations between the Alliance in Kuala Lumpur and Lee's Political Action Party in Singapore deteriorated. Lee resisted the Tunku's plan to rule together equally. Lee had greater ambitions: he wanted to be Prime Minister of both Singapore and Malaysia.

The Tunku, while convalescing from an illness in a London hospital, described his relationship with Singapore. As soon as one issue was resolved, another cropped up: when a patch was made here, a tear appeared elsewhere; when one hole was plugged, other leaks appeared. A separation of Malaysia and Singapore seemed to be in the best interests of both countries. Lee Kuan Yew broadcast the news of Singapore's independence on August 9, 1965, with pride and regret. He had wanted Singapore united with Malaysia as much as he had desired Singapore's independence. He had one, but not the other.

In retrospect, the Tunku said that Lee Kuan Yew was one of the few people he had ever found it difficult to get along with. For his part, Lee Kuan Yew said that he had rarely made an effort to get along with anyone. But he had made an exception for his Malay friend, the Tunku.



CHAPTER 3

Exercise 1

Fill in the blanks.

1. The Japanese made ____________ their regional headquarters, and renamed it Syonan.
2. Some Chinese guerrillas fled from the Japanese to the jungles and formed a group known as ______________________________ .
3. The____________ formed a majority in the Malayan Union.
4. The Crown Colonies were the territories of ____________ , ____________and ___________.
5. In the Malayan Union, the sultans had to give up all __________ powers.
6. _______________ instigated the boycott of the Malayan Union at Governor Gent's installation.
7. The British solution to the Malay dissatisfaction over the Malayan Union was to form the _______________ .
8. Under the Federation of Malaya, citizenship was automatic for _______________ and granted to non-Malays born of parents who had been under Federation jurisdiction for __ years.
9. The Chinese Communists' failure to gain support from the ___________ led to an outright armed protest.
10. The Malayan Communist uprising during the first decade of the Federation was referred to as the ________________________ .

Exercise 2

Give the year in which the following events took place.

1. The first democratic election, the Kuala Lumpur municipal election, was held.
2. Tunku Abdul Rahman became the President of the UMNO.
3. Britain changed the Malayan Union to a modified form of governance called the Federation of Malaya.
4. Tunku Abdul Rahman became the Prime Minister of Malaya.

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5. Singapore joined the Federation of Malaya.
6. The UMNO (United Malay Nationalist Organization) was formed.
7. Independence was conferred to Malaya
8. The UMNO and the MCA formed the Alliance.
9. Singapore declared itself to be the independent Republic of Singapore.
10. The MCA (Malayan Chinese Association) was formed.

Exercise 3

Match the names with the positions listed on the right.

1.	Onn bin Ja'afar	________	a.	Founder of the MCA
2.	Sir Edward Gent	________	b.	Head of the Alliance
3.	Tan Cheng Lock	________	c.	First Governor of the Malayan Union
4.	Lee Kuan Yew	________	d.	Leader of the UMNO
5.	Tunku Abdul Rahman	________	e.	Chief Minister of Singapore

Exercise 4

Circle the correct response to the following:

1. The main aim of the Malayan Union was to unite the country by
a. becoming self-governing.
b. offering citizenship to everyone.
c. extending equal rights to all races.
d. forcing the sultan to relinquish all powers.

2. The Malays were dissatisfied with the Malayan Union because
a. the Chinese had more power than they.
b. they did not have to answer to any other authority besides their sultans.
c. the Union's governor was British.
d. they felt their sultans had lost face and they had been demoted to a minority status.

3. The Chinese Communists were outraged at the changes brought about by the Federation of Malaya because

a. preferential treatment was given to the Malays.

b. they were not granted citizenship in the Federation.

c. the British adviser behaved like a pre-war Resident.

d. the British could claim authority over the sultans.

4. The Chinese Communists received help from __ in their armed protest against the Federation of Malaya.

a. China

b. the Soviet Union

c. Singapore

d. the Dutch

5. Who was the founder of the MCA as well as a member of the Straits Settlement Legislative Council from 1923 to 1934?

a. Dato' Onn bin Ja'afar

b. Tun Tan Cheng Lock

c. Tunku Abdul Rahman

d. Lee Kuan Yew

6. The MCA

a. supported homogenous racial mixes in which Malay characteristics dominated.

b. was communist in its origins.

c. drew support from Western-educated wealthy entrepreneurs.

d. had full British endorsement.

7. The Alliance was made up of the following 2 parties.

a. MCA and UMNO

b. UMNO and Malayan Union

c. MCA and MPAJA

d. UMNO and MIC

8. Which of the following does not apply to Tunku Abdul Rahman?

a. He was the seventh child of the Sultan of Kelantan.

b. He was the president of the UMNO.

c. He went to St. Catherine's College at Cambridge.
d. His style of leadership was known as "Democracy in Camera".

9. The Alliance advocated for all of the following except
a. the sultans' rights to be upheld.
b. permanent abolition of federal councils.
c. Islam to be recognized as the state religion.
d. improvement of the Malay's economic status.

10. The Alliance did not wish to include Singapore because
a. Singapore was the exporter of commodities and drew its supplies of raw materials from the Peninsula.
b. Singapore was under Communist rule.
c. Singapore's large Chinese population could jeopardize the position of the Malays if they were to vote in the same elections.
d. the Singapore press attacked the Alliance's bias in favor of the Malays.

11. The new constitution
a. extended citizenship to all Chinese and Indian residents.
b. forced all residents to practise Islam.
c. helped Malays to raise their economic status through a series of quotas.
d. made English the national language of Malaya.

12. Lee Kuan Yew felt that a merger between Singapore and Malaya was desirable because
a. it may help to lessen the strength of the Communists in Singapore.
b. Singapore would be able to obtain raw materials from Malaya.
c. it would threaten the other South East Asian countries.
d. Singapore would benefit under Tunku's style of leadership.

13. Brunei did not join the Federation of Malaya because
a. the Sultan's request to be given precedence over the other sultans was not met, and he did not wish to share the oil in the country with powers outside the country.
b. the Sultan had a disagreement with Singapore over the export of oil.
c. the Federation of Malaya did not wish to include Brunei as one of them.
d. the British did not allow Brunei to join the Federation.

14. Indonesia and the Philippines refused to grant diplomatic recognition to Malaysia because
a. they did not agree with Tunku's immigrant policies.
b. they would lose trade revenues in the region.
c. Malaysia claimed Sulu from the Philippines.
d. they interpreted the inclusion of parts of northern Borneo into Malaysia as a sign of aggression.

15. Malaysia and Singapore separated because of all of the following reasons except
a. they could not agree on economic decisions.
b. there was a constant tension between the Malays and the Chinese.
c. relations between the Alliance and the Political Action Party deteriorated.
d. Singapore wished to preserve its Communist bias.

Exercise 5

Write a short essay on the following topic:

> What were the advantages and disadvantages of including Singapore within the country of Malaya? Who would gain and who would lose from allowing Singapore to become an independent country?

Exercise 6

Answer the following questions.

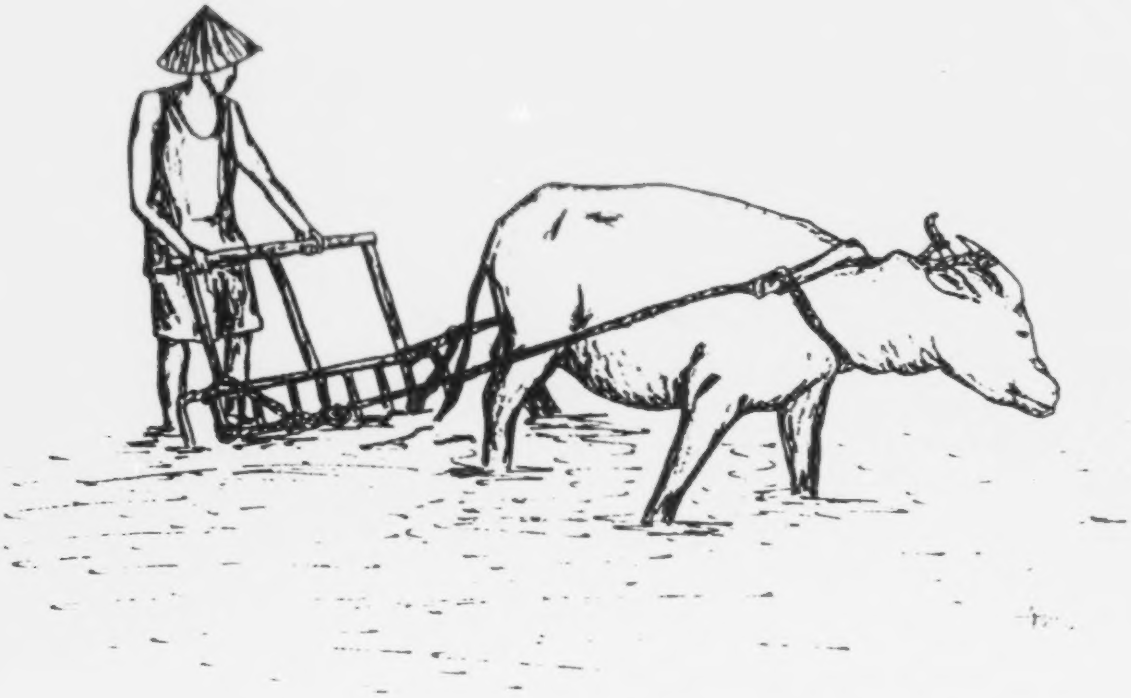
1. What did the Japanese do to encourage the Malays to develop a sense of identity with them (the Japanese)?
2. Why were the Malays dissatisfied with the Malayan Union?
3. How did the Federation of Malaya seek to resolve the dissatisfaction of the Malays over the Malayan Union?
4. What does the definition of 'Malay' include?
5. What was the aim of the First Malaysia Plan and what areas or projects did it involve? Was it successful?

Exercise 7

Creative Writing.

The year is 1952: you are Tunku Abdul Rahman and you have just won the elections as head of the Alliance party. As you savor your victory you are also aware of the problems facing your homeland: the Emergency with the Communist forces is still causing havoc in the countryside, the British have so far seemed reluctant to hand over independence to Malaya, and questions of racial balance have to be agreed upon in order for any plan of independence to work.

Record your thoughts and feelings in your personal journal. Include your interpretations of the challenges that must be overcome as Malaya faces this crucial time in her history.



Chapter IV

Sabah and Sarawak: The East Malaysia States

Borneo is the third largest island in the world. The two states of East Malaysia located there are Sarawak and Sabah. Sarawak occupies 17 percent of the island area and Sabah, 10 percent. Between Sarawak and the north coast is the independent sultanate of Brunei. Almost three-fourths of Borneo belongs to Indonesia and is named Kalimantan.

The west coast of Borneo borders the South China Sea; the east coast, the Pacific Ocean. To the north, the islands of the Sulu Archipelago link Borneo to the Philippines; the islands of Indonesia lie to the south. At its closest point Borneo is about four hundred miles from the Malay Peninsula. Sarawak is about as far east of Singapore as Sabah is south of Hong Kong.

Three-fourths of the island is covered by mountainous jungle. The only land access from the coast to the interior is by river. At high tide some of the larger rivers are navigable for hundreds of miles, but at other times passage is blocked by mud banks and sandbars. Before airline service, the interior could only be reached by dugout canoe or outboard motorboat.

Exotic flora and fauna are even more abundant on Borneo than on peninsular Malaysia. Two thousand feet above sea level is the rain forest where thick growth and giant evergreen trees admit little sunlight. Found here are oversize tropical plants like the pitcher plant, which holds quarts of rainwater; and the brilliant flower a yard wide, called *Rafflesia*. At an elevation of six to nine thousand feet are moss forests; and toward the summits are dwarf trees and alpine flowers.[1]

The spectacular flora of the jungle is equaled by its extraordinary wildlife. The forest is home to flying animals like bats and squirrels, boar, rhinoceros, and a host of monkeys and apes, including the orangutan (which in Malay means "man of the forest"). There are many kinds of deer. The king deer, which has a strange hoarse bark, looks like a goat. The mouse deer looks like a miniature deer with long thin legs. He is the model for the trickster *Kancil* in Malay folk tales.

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[1] Joseph Conrad describes Borneo's rivers and jungle in many of his short stories and in three of his novels: Almayer's Folly, An Outcast of the Islands, and The Rescue.

Reptiles live on land and water. Crocodiles glide through rivers, lizards sun on river banks, turtles paddle in the sea. In the forest are countless birds—the booby, babbler, and shrike; and birds prized for the marketplace: the peacock, cockatoo, hornbill, and bulbul. Crawling insects permeate the ground, and winged insects cloud the air. The tropical haze of the forest is colored by a confetti of butterflies.

Sarawak, which is about the same size as Louisiana, is the largest of the Malaysian states. Of Sarawak's 1,669,000 population 29% are Malay, who have mostly settled along the coasts; and 29.5% Chinese, most of whom live in towns where they are self-employed in business or professional practice.

The largest of the indigenous groups are the Iban, or Sea Dayaks, who were once known as headhunters and pirates. The shrunken heads of captives would be strung from rafters of a longhouse. A longhouse is like a village under one roof. Forty to fifty families live in separate compartments and share a central area. Iban status is ranked according to the number of possessions. Treasures and ornaments are kept in large Chinese jars. Iban society is egalitarian. Men and women share work during the rice harvest and are equal in ownership and inheritance.

The Bidayuh, or Land Dayaks, 8.2% of Borneo's population, live in the river uplands. The Melanau constitute 5.7% of the population and live on the coastal plains. The principal interior tribes are the Lun Bawang (Murut), Kelabit, Kenyah, Kayan, and Penan. They are the hunters and gatherers of the jungle, and some track their prey with blowpipes and poison darts. These tribes are self-contained within their own stratified social system. Their artistic creativity is seen in Sarawak crafts: basketry, weaving, spirit masks, horn and bone jewelry, and especially beadwork.

Sabah has an area slightly smaller than that of South Carolina. Its distinguishing geographical feature is Mt. Kinabalu, 13,455 feet high, for which the capital, Kota Kinabalu, is named. Sandakan on the east shore was formerly the capital. It exports timber and is the largest city of Sabah.

Sabah's 1,470,200 population includes some of the same tribes as Sarawak. The Kadazan, or Dusun, are known as the "orchard people." They live along the river banks tending gardens and cultivating irrigated rice fields. The Bajau, or Sea Gypsies, raise buffalo and ponies. Other tribes are the Kedayan and Bisayah.

The history of the sultanate of Brunei was combined with that of Sarawak and Sabah until 1963, when Brunei chose not to become part of Malaysia. It has been independent since 1984, ruled by Sultan Sir Muda Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzadin Waddaulah. The capital of the present Brunei (the country's official name is Brunei Darussalam) is Bandar Seri Begawan. Vast deposits of oil and natural gas were discovered offshore Brunei in the 1920s. Shell Oil has managed these resources so profitably that Brunei is sometimes called the "Shellfare State." Today Brunei is reputed to have the highest concentration of wealth in the world. Its huge loans to Iran and to the Bank of Credit and Commerce International made world headlines in the early 1990s.

Brunei, Sarawak, and Sabah were linked to the Malay Peninsula by ancient sea routes. Pirates deterred early traders from loitering on Borneo's coasts. In the early sixteenth century Portuguese visitors found a thriving Muslim Kingdom known as Brunei on the northwest seacoast. This name, *Burunai*, came to be applied to the entire island and eventually was Anglicized to *Borneo*. The sultanate originally owned much of the land of the present Sarawak and the island of Labuan, which is north of Brunei Bay. The Sultan of Brunei and the Sultan of Sulu, whose islands lay east of Sabah, while protective of their territory, did not interfere with the affairs of the other.

Borneo was drawn into the larger network of the Malay-Muslim world by the maritime trade in the South China Sea. If the Chinese turned their junks left, instead of right toward the Strait, they came to the west coast of Borneo. The Chinese traders came for animal skins, medicinal plants, logs, feathers and fibers, and—from the great limestone caves of Niah—swiftlet nests for bird-nest soup. From the sea people they bought tortoise shell for use as combs or carvings, agar for gelatin, and edibles such as fish, sea slugs, and shark fins.

Soon the Portuguese, the Spaniards, and the Dutch were competing with the Chinese for trading rights from the river chiefs. In 1824 the Dutch added southern Borneo to their colonies. This left the west and north coasts of Borneo still free of any European power. From time to time various European adventurers laid claim to coastal strips, but the most lasting claim was that made by an Englishman named James Brooke. In 1835 James Brooke at thirty-two came into his inheritance. He bought an armed yacht, hired a crew, and sailed for the East Indies. After four years of exploration he came to Borneo.

On August 15, 1839, he sailed up the Sarawak River to Kuching and, though no one was in sight, fired a twenty-one gun salute. Fortunately it was a raja and not a headhunter who heard his shots. *Raja Muda* Hassim, the uncle of the Sultan of Brunei, happened to be in Kuching attempting to keep the Iban warriors from transferring their loyalties to the Dutch. Brooke presented Hassim with gifts of food, knives, scissors, and gunpowder. Brooke assured Hassim that as an Englishman, he would be a useful ally. He told Hassim that the British were stalkers, like cats, whereas the Dutch were timid, like mice. Hassim was persuaded to let Brooke stay and explore Sarawak counting on the Englishman's presence to influence the Iban to remain loyal to the Sultan.

On his first expedition upcountry Brooke saw marvelous plants and animals in the jungle but no human beings. On his second, he was received into an Iban longhouse. He was quite taken aback to see thirty dried human heads hanging from the rafters. He was informed that an Iban had to take a head before he could take a bride.

Brooke's upriver trips accomplished what Hassim had hoped. The Iban remained loyal to the Sultan of Brunei. Over the next two years Brooke helped the sultanate control inter-tribal warfare and reduce the number of pirate raids. The Sultan rewarded Brooke by appointing him Raja and Governor of Sarawak. Though he never did receive any official appointment Brooke considered himself a representative of Britain, which, for its part, was satisfied to have an Englishman in charge of Borneo lands.

Raja Brooke's first goal was to maintain law and order. He put a stop to headhunting and persuaded the tribes to co-exist with each other. The Iban warriors were transformed into a police force. With help from the British navy he virtually eliminated coastal piracy. The Sultan of Brunai again expressed his gratitude by ceding the island of Labuan to Britain in 1846.

Although he held unlimited powers, Brooke was a benevolent despot. One of his first acts was to abolish slavery and the custom of debt-slavery. Those who obeyed the law were protected from loss of property and life; those who did not, were punished or exiled.

Brooke ruled by eight laws. 1) Murder and robbery were punished according to Sarawak customary law. 2) Every person of any race could keep earnings from his own labor or trade. 3) All roads and river passage were to be kept open for free transport of goods. 4) Individuals could keep profits from their own trade except for antimony ore, which had to be paid to Brooke's own treasury. 5) The Iban were required to pay taxes to Brooke in return for protection from raids or exploitation. 6) All taxation was determined by Brooke. 7) Money, weights, and measures were standardized. A cent coin was introduced to enable the poor to engage in cash exchange. 8) All laws were enforced.

Brooke's laws ensured free trade, free movement of goods, freedom from slavery, fair profits, and a regulated tax system. The eight laws diminished the power of the Malay princes and left the Chinese society to itself. Intermarriage between Iban, Malay, and Chinese was banned.

Brooke lived like a raja in the manner of a Malay sultan. He held court daily in the dining room of his bungalow, which was bedecked with tapestries, ceremonial ornaments, and other trappings of rank. He heard petitions from the chiefs and referred to taxes metaphorically as "tribute." The chiefdoms were now called Malay countries, *Negeri Melayu*.

Brooke dealt with the Sarawak peoples in different ways. The Malays were used in government. The Malay princes became gentlemen bureaucrats, and the commoners were moved out of trade into government jobs as minor officials or clerks. By designating Muslim tribes as Malay, Brooke increased the number of "Malay" people in Sarawak. This idea was to be revived a century later.

He left the upland tribes alone. They were, in his view, "noble savages," and should not be corrupted by the evils of modernization. Once the Ibans left headhunting and piracy they took up farming and trading. The Iban police force in time became the Sarawak Rangers.

The Chinese, who had come into Sarawak as gold and antimony miners, provided most of Brooke's direct revenue. They were required to buy franchises for their business firms and to pay royalties on opium, *arak*, and gambling operations. The Chinese managed their own communities with their own laws, like states within a state. Gradually they took over some of the trading functions such as plantation and logging enterprises which the Malays had abandoned for government service. [2]

James Brooke ruled for twenty-two years. He was succeeded by his nephew Charles, who enlarged Sarawak by annexing some areas of Brunei. Charles was the better administrator of the two and he also concentrated on expanding Sarawak's territory. Charles was in turn succeeded by his son Charles Vyner Brooke. Under Vyner Brooke's rule the site of the governing council's sessions was moved from the Raj bungalow to a more formal environment in the courthouse across the street. In 1937 two Chinese and five Iban leaders were invited to serve on the council. Vyner Brooke ruled until 1946.

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[2] James Brooke is said to have been the model the Joseph Conrad used for his title character in *Lord Jim*.

The three Brookes are sometimes referred to as the "White Rajahs." Over a century the Brooke dynasty had increased their kingdom from seven thousand square miles to forty-seven thousand—at the expense of Brunei. There had been minor changes within the population groups but few social changes. The Brookes had little commitment to preparing Sarawak's people for the modern world. Health and education services were rudimentary. Education was almost entirely limited to Christian or Muslim missionary schools. Nor did the Brookes develop Sarawak's natural resources to match technological advances. Economic production was confined to small-scale agriculture and mining. There were few roads and only one railway—just ten miles long.

Britain did not interfere in Borneo until the 1870s when the sea route between Sulu and Borneo's northeast coast became the principal passage to Australia. Britain again needed a secure base in the face of European competitors. France had begun to consolidate its position in Vietnam, the Dutch were pushing farther into Borneo, and Italy proposed to establish a penal colony on Labuan. With a view to maintaining her control in the area, Britain negotiated rights to occupy a coastal strip on Borneo's north shore with the sultans of Brunei and Sulu. In 1881 Britain chartered a holding company, which sold stock to private investors, in the town of Sandakan. It was called the North Borneo Company or the Chartered Company.

The purpose of the Company was to develop export products that would be as profitable as those on the Peninsula. The territory was administered as a commercial state, supported by a police force and departments of health, education, forestry, and native affairs. It divided North Borneo into four residencies, which were further subdivided into districts. A District Officer, who was trained in no local language, had to rely on village headmen to administer his district for him. A few dollars a month and the inflated title of *Orang Kaya Kaya*, "Very, Very Rich Man," were not always enough to buy a headman's loyalty to the Company's satisfaction.

The Company's interference in village affairs and the methods they used in collecting revenue were constant irritants to the local people. Open resistance to Company rule erupted in 1895. A Bajau-Sulu Muslim, Mat Salleh, posing as a sultan, led an uprising against the British for taxes they had levied on rice imports and railway construction. He operated as a jungle pirate, inspiring outlaws to expel the foreigners and restore the glory of the Malaccan court. Although Mat Salleh died in 1900 his freedom fighters continued his cause for five more years.

The Company failed to duplicate the economic success of the Peninsula. Its goals were thwarted by mismanagement, shortage of funds, and poor transport facilities. It could never market exports in enough volume for high returns. There were so few local people to work in the fields that migrant workers had to be brought in from China, the Philippines, and Java. A railway that was to link the west coast to the east ended up with a track laid at a right angle to the planned route. This error, however, proved fortunate once it was discovered that rubber plants would flourish only on the inland side of the railroad.

In 1906 Britain placed North Borneo, Sarawak, and Brunei under its protection. Although each administration continued as before, the three governments reported to the British High Commissioner in Singapore and were now linked as the British Borneo states. In North Borneo the first token representation of the people in government was in 1912 when an eleven-member advisory council admitted two Chinese businessmen. In that same year the British and Dutch finally settled their common boundary between British North Borneo and Dutch Borneo.

In the 1920s a new corporation, the British Borneo Timber Company, expanded the timber industry and turned Sandakan into a major timber port. In North Borneo the British, like the Brookes in Sarawak, maintained law and order but brought few social and economic benefits to the Malays and tribal groups who continued to live in isolated settlements. Prosperity came to the region when petroleum deposits were discovered in waters near Brunei, one of the few areas that Sarawak had not claimed.

World War II ended the colonial presence on Borneo. On December 17, 1941, the Japanese struck the offshore oil rigs, and on Christmas Day they took Kuching. By January 6, 1942, they had razed Jesselton. The Japanese Occupation on Borneo was similar to that on the Peninsula. It lasted until the North Australian Division liberated Labuan on June 10, 1945. Since neither Vyner Brooke nor the North Borneo Company could underwrite the costs of postwar reconstruction, they agreed to transfer their territories to Britain as Crown Colonies in July 1946. Dutch Borneo became Kalimantan when Indonesia became independent in 1949.

Postwar recovery was even slower on Borneo than on the Peninsula. There were no modern transportation or communication networks. Rivers were still the main avenues of transport. In North Borneo the only roads that led out of town were compared to "bridle paths for a pony." Communication did not improve until radio came in the mid-1950s. Radio Sarawak and Radio North Borneo were broadcast in several languages and transistor radios were distributed to the inland population.

Sarawak and North Borneo also desired independence but they were not well prepared to govern themselves. Very few of the people had any experience at all in government or politics, nor had any of the tribal groups developed the kind of political system that could serve as a basis for self-rule. Only a small number of persons had received any advanced education and too few in the population were literate. A governance by elected officials who represented the people seemed beyond reach.

An opportunity to gain independence came unexpectedly in 1961 when Tunku Abdul Rahman offered to incorporate the Borneo Colonies and Singapore into the new nation Malaysia. Singapore agreed immediately. Britain first decided to find out how the people in the three Borneo colonies felt about leaving Britain to become part of an uncertain future with Malaysia. An Anglo-Malayan Commission of Enquiry, called the Cobbold Commission, was sent to Borneo to canvass opinions of the people.

The Commission was headed by a London banker, Lord Cobbold, and composed of two other Englishmen and two Malayans, *Dato'* Wong Pow Nee and *Encik'* Ghazali bin Mohamed Shaffie. The five men spent eight weeks traveling to thirty-five sites—by air, automobile, jeep, launch, and outboard motor, interviewing people who had never been asked to participate in such a major decision. The results of their survey were that one third of the people favored joining Malaya; one third would agree only with assurance that rights of the indigenous people be protected; and one third (principally the Sarawak Chinese) preferred to postpone independence and remain longer under British rule.

The Borneo people were uncertain about their future if governed by a Malaysian Parliament in Kuala Lumpur. Neither North Borneo nor Sarawak nor Brunei was prepared for self-rule within a federation. Their history and their societies were different from those on the Peninsula. They feared that their rights would not be protected under a Malaysian Federation. Chinese businessmen in Sabah, in particular, felt threatened by the prospect of outside control. In the end, however, their desire for independence from Britain was stronger than their fears. Borneo sent seven representatives to the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee to sign the Malaysia Agreement on July 9, 1963. A few weeks later, on August 31, North Borneo was renamed Sabah. More than a half century after his death Mat Salleh was named Sabah's great patriot.

Sabah had three representatives on the Solidarity Committee. One was Donald Stephens, son of an Australian father and a Kadazan mother. Stephens was a wealthy timber baron who extended his influence as the owner of several Jesselton newspapers. He was an engaging personality who spoke five languages: English, Kadazan, Malay, Hakka, and Cantonese. In 1961 he had founded the United National Kadazan Organization (UNKO) in an effort to consolidate Sabah's non-Muslims. A second representative was Datu Mustapha bin Datu Harun, who later founded the Muslim

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United Sabah National Organization (USNO). The third representative was Khoo Siak Chiew, a Chinese timber baron from Sandakan, who backed a multiracial Lun Bawang party.

Sarawak had four representatives on the Solidarity Committee: Pengarah Montegrai anak Tugang, a Malay aristocrat; Datu Bandar and Temenggong Jugah, both respected by the Iban as well as by the Malays; and Ling Beng Siew, who, with other Chinese, had founded the Sarawak Chinese Association (SCA). All of these representatives on the Solidarity Committee were trusted spokesmen for their respective communities. All possessed, or at least had access to, considerable wealth. All had received an English-language education in Christian missionary schools instead of, or in addition to, schooling in their native languages.

The 1963 Malaysia Agreement transformed Sabah and Sarawak into the two states of East Malaysia. Peninsular Malaya became West Malaysia. The government in Kuala Lumpur ruled both. Brunei remained a British protectorate. Sabah and Sarawak were given separate constitutions. Sabah and Sarawak are allowed to make their own decisions on immigration and non-Islamic missionary activity, and are permitted to use English more broadly. English is the official language for both state governments and is the language of instruction in schools. The constitution of Sabah provides for a Head of State, the *Yang Dipertua Negeri Sabah*. Executive authority is vested in a Chief Minister and a State Cabinet; legislative authority, in a Legislative Assembly. Sarawak is governed by a Chief Minister who presides over a Supreme Council; legislative authority is vested in a State Legislature.

When constitutional privileges for Malays were extended to the indigenous peoples on Borneo, the old ethnic categories had to be revised. In the new classification, converts to Islam as well as Malay births are counted as Malays, regardless of original tribal affiliation. The "Malay-related" groups on Borneo, which are included under the term *Bumiputera*, are the ethnic groups who came in the early migrations. For Sarawak, they are the Iban, Bidayuh, Melanau, Kenyah, Kayan, and Bisayah. For Sabah, these are the Kadazan, Lun Bawang, Kelabit, and Kedayan.

The *Bumiputera* classification divides Sarawak's population into three groups: 69.3 percent are Malays and other *Bumiputera*; 29.4 percent, Chinese; 1.3 percent, others. The *Bumiputera* classification divides Sabah's population as 82.9 percent Malays and other *Bumiputera*; 16.2 percent, Chinese; 0.9 percent, others. Incorporating Sabah and Sarawak into Malaysia did what the Tunku hoped it would do. The Malays became the majority in Malaysia.

CHAPTER 4

Exercise 1

Fill in the blanks.

1. The island of __________ is the third largest island in the world; and consists of the 2 states of East Malaysia, ________ and ________________ , the independent sultanate of ________________ and _________________________ which is governed by Indonesia.

2. The capital of Brunei is ______________________________ .

3. The Ibans, also known as ____________________ , were regarded as _________________. They lived in _______________ , the westernmost Malaysian state in Borneo, where they lived in dwellings called _____________________.

4. When James Brooke arrived in Borneo, he was met by _______________________ .

5. Brooke turned the Iban warriors into his _____________________ .

6. Under Brooke, Borneo chiefdoms became known as _________________ .

7. Brooke obtained most of his revenue from the ________________ .

8. The British holding company in Sandakan was called the __________________ or _____ _______________.

9. District headmen of the North Borneo Company were also known as ________________.

10. As a result of the expanded timber exports by the _____________________ , Sandakan became a major timber port.

Exercise 2

I. On the map below, mark and name the following:

1. Borneo

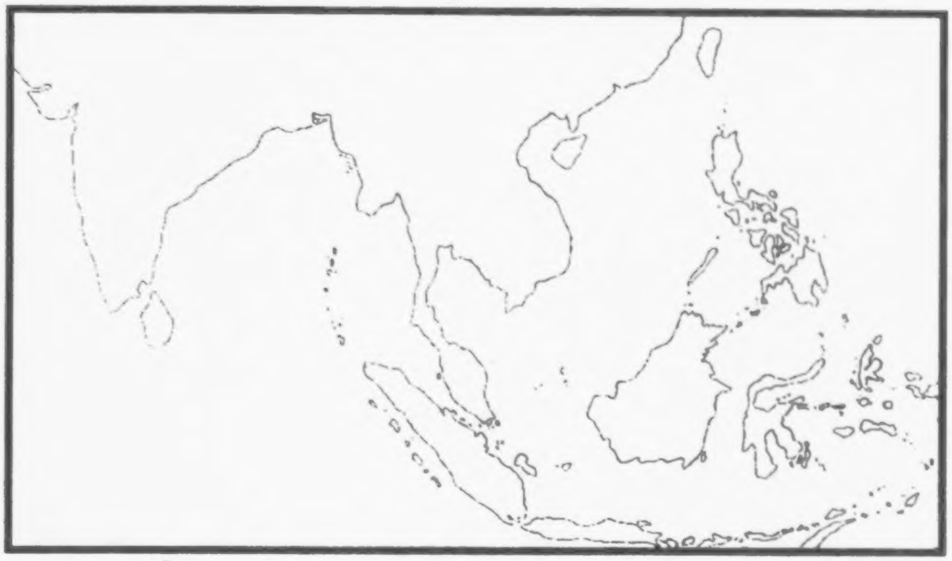
2. The Sulu Archipelago

3. The Philippines

4. The Malay Peninsula

5. Java

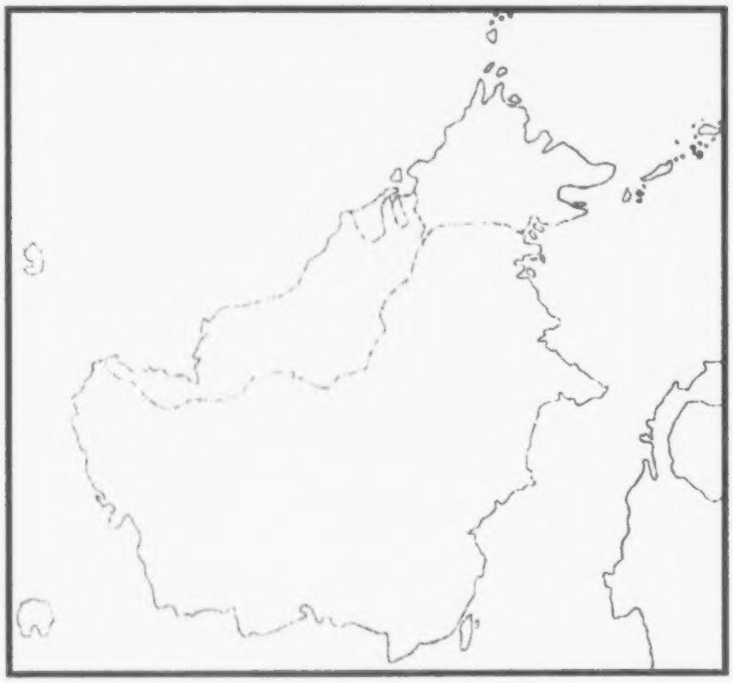
6. The Pacific Ocean



Exercise 2

II. On the map below, mark and name the following:

1. The country reputed to be the wealthiest in the world
2. The state occupying 10% of Borneo
3. The island ceded to the British by the Sultan of Brunei
4. The largest of the Malaysian states
5. A major timber port in Borneo
6. The part of Borneo governed by Indonesia



Exercise 3

Circle the correct response to the following:

1. Brunei is sometimes known as the "Shellfare State" because

a. it exports the largest number of shells to the West.

b. it has the highest concentration of wealth in the world.

c. it has vast deposits of oil and gas managed by Shell Oil.

d. it made huge loans to the BCCI recently.

2. The Sultan of Brunei made James Brooke the Raja and Governor of Sarawak because

a. Brooke managed to keep the Iban loyal to the Sultan.

b. Brooke managed to conquer the Dutch.

c. Brooke was stronger than the Sultan.

d. Brooke had been entrusted with a political mission by the British government.

3. The Sultan of Brunei ceded Labuan to Britain

a. in order to claim back Sarawak.

b. to thank the British for helping to eradicate piracy.

c. so that the British would not try to conquer Brunei.

d. because Brooke had succeeded in abolishing headhunting.

4. James Brooke assigned the following occupational slots to the 3 major groups in Sarawak.

a. Malays: bureaucrats & clerks/functionaries; Iban: police & rangers; Chinese: traders

b. Malays: traders; Iban: miners; Chinese: merchants

c. Malays: rulers; Iban: merchants; Chinese: gold miners

d. Malays: police; Iban: plantation owners; Chinese: loggers

5. The British began to pay attention to Borneo in the 1870s because

a. they sought territorial expansion.

b. Brooke was not performing well as a White Raja.

c. vast deposits of oil and gas were discovered in Borneo.

d. British commerce was threatened by European competitors.

6. The British gained territorial rights in Borneo

a. by seizing Sandakan by force.

b. through diplomatic negotiations with the sultans of Brunei and Sulu.

c. by forcing the Dutch out of the area.

d. by creating a trade route between Sulu and the northern tip of Borneo.

7. On the whole, the North Borneo Company did not achieve success because

a. the Dutch proved to be too strong to compete with.

b. the Sultan of Brunei kept close tabs on the company to prevent it from becoming too strong.

c. it was characterized by mismanagement, and a lack of funds, transportation facilities and marketable exports.

d. migrant workers from China, the Philippines and Java drained the company of its resources.

8. What ended colonial presence in Borneo?

a. Rebellion by the sultans of Brunei and Sulu.

b. World War II.

c. the Northern Australian Division.

d. Borneo was exhausted of all its profitable resources.

9. Communication in North Borneo improved with the introduction of ___ in the 1950s.

a. radio broadcasting

b. railroads

c. telephones

d. modern roads

10. The purpose of the Cobbold Commission was to

a. discover why post-war recovery was slow in Borneo.

b. gauge the ability of the Borneo people for self-rule.

c. investigate the viability of the Malaysia-Singapore merger.

d. find out how people in the Borneo colonies felt about becoming a part of Malaysia.

11. The Malaysia Agreement resulted in all of the following except

a. a wider use of the English Language.

b. Sabah, Sarawak, and Singapore becoming a part of Malaysia.

c. separate constitutions given to Sabah and Sarawak from West Malaysia .

d. the granting of constitutional privileges to the Malays.

12. The extending of the "Malay" classification to include the indigenous peoples of Borneo resulted in

a. a diversifying of the population.

b. the conversion of many people to Islam.

c. the Malays becoming a majority group in Malaysia.

d. dissatisfaction among the indigenous people.

Exercise 4

Order the events chronologically starting from the earliest event and indicate the years in which they occurred.

1. Mat Salleh staged an open rebellion against the British in Sabah.

2. The boundary between British North Borneo and Dutch Borneo was settled.

3. The Malaysia Agreement was signed.

4. James Brooke became the Raja and Governor of Sarawak.

5. North Borneo was renamed Sabah.

6. Britain was given permission to charter a holding company in Sandakan.

7. James Brooke arrived in Borneo.

8. Labuan was liberated from the Japanese by the North Australian Division.

9. The Borneo States were placed under the protection of the Crown.

10. Vyner Brooke and the North Borneo Company transferred Sarawak and Sabah to Britain as Crown Colonies.

11. Vyner Brooke introduced a form of representative government in Sarawak.

12. The Sultan of Brunei ceded the island of Labuan to Britain.

Exercise 5

Match the names with the positions/descriptions listed on the right.

1.	James Brooke	___	a.	Founder of the United Sabah National Organization
2.	Mat Salleh	___	b.	Representative on Solidarity Committee
3.	Donald Stephens	___	c.	Uncle of Sultan of Brunei at the time of James Brookes' arrival in Borneo
4.	Lord Cobbold	___	d.	Raja and Governor of Sarawak
5.	Datu Mustapha bin Datu Harun	___	e.	Bajau-Sulu Muslim leader who led rebellion against the British
6.	Ling Beng Siew	___	f.	Head of the Anglo-Malayan Commission of Enquiry or Cobbold Commission
7.	Raja Muda Hassim	___	g.	Founder of SCA

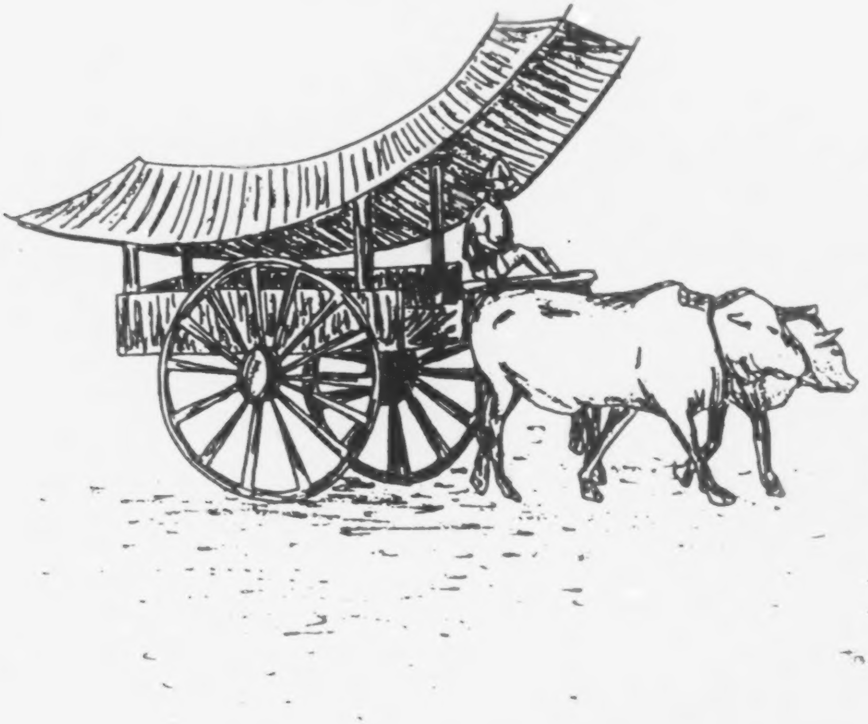
Exercise 6

Write a short essay on one of the following topics.

1. Describe the social conditions of Sarawak during the century of White Raja rule. If you were a White Raja in Sarawak, would you have done anything differently from James and Vyner Brooke? If so, what?

2. Why did resistance to Company rule erupt in Sabah in 1895? In your opinion, what could have been done to prevent rebellion?

3. Why were the people of Borneo in favor of becoming a part of Malaysia even though they had doubts and reservations? In your opinion, should all countries be given independence and allowed to rule themselves regardless of whether they have experience in government or an acceptable political system? Explain your answer.



Chapter V

Nationhood

With independence, all of the ethnic parties within the Alliance wanted the country to achieve some kind of national identity. But how was a national identity to be achieved? The Malays were the original inhabitants. The Chinese and the Malays were devoted to their own culture exclusive of the other. The Chinese were opposed to any combination of the races in which Malay characteristics would predominate: they did not wish to become Malay. How the other racial minorities might respond to a multi-racial union could not be predicted.

The Alliance could not decide on a racial policy. Should the races be divided, accommodated, or assimilated? The races could not be separated from each other, for they were already too intermingled throughout the Peninsula. Accommodation meant leaving each ethnic group as it was. That would satisfy the haves but not the have-nots. There was no precedent for racial assimilation. The Alliance finally settled on a policy that combined accommodation and assimilation. It provided for the "special position" of Malays but protected non-Malays by law. This policy lasted twelve years.

In the May 1969 general election the Alliance lost a substantial number of seats to a coalition of opposition parties; although it still maintained a majority. The Democratic Action Party (linked to the People's Action Party of Singapore) wanted to accelerate equal rights for the Chinese. The People's Progressive Party, composed of Chinese and Indian tin magnates from Perak desired equal rights for all minorities. The Malaysian Peoples Movement advocated complete racial equality. The combined votes for these parties in the May 12 election were not enough to defeat the Alliance, but they presented a formidable challenge.

The next day crowds of Chinese and other minorities swarmed into the streets of Kuala Lumpur to celebrate their victory. The Malays reacted with violence, killing many non-Malays; the Chinese retaliated by killing Malays. Hundreds of people lost their lives in these riots. There was burning, looting, and wreckage throughout the city. Violence in other towns erupted for months thereafter. In a desperate effort to restore national order the government centralized all powers in a National Operations Council, headed by Tun Abdul Razak.

The decisions made after the May 13 riots cast the mold for Malaysia as it is today. The government could not risk any recurrence of such terrible racial violence. From this point on, Malaysia was "Malayanized". It became more Malay-dominated and enforced its laws more strictly. The following year on the thirteenth anniversary of independence Malaysia declared that henceforth the country would be guided by a national pledge, the *Rukunegara*.

> Our nation, Malaysia, being dedicated to achieving a greater unity of all her peoples; to maintaining a democratic way of life; to creating a just society in which the wealth of the nation shall be equitably shared; to ensuring a liberal approach to her rich and diverse cultural traditions; to building a progressive society which shall be oriented to modern science and technology: We, her people, pledge our united efforts to attain those ends guided by these principles: Belief in God.—Loyalty to King and Country.- Upholding the Constitution.—Rule of Law.—Good Behaviour and Morality.

The Tunku retired in September 1970. His skill in reconciling opposite points of view and his ability to win support for a moderate course had kept the nation in balance for twelve years. His style of politics had run its course, but as Prime Minister he had been the right man in the right place at the right time. He was called *B*apak ("father"), and is remembered in Malaysia as the father of freedom, *Bapak Merdeka*.

The new Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, faced new problems. He had to maintain law and order in a society divided by bitter resentments. If the roots of ethnic violence lay in the Chinese being too rich and the Malays too poor, economic opportunities would have to be more equal. Now, in addition to quotas for jobs, Malays were to be given preference in levels of employment. They were to receive even higher quotas in higher education and technical training. They would be given a further advantage through increased use of the Malay language. All these Malay entitlements were to be extended to every *Bumiputera*. In 1971, freedom of speech and freedom of the press were restricted by the Sensitive Issues Amendment to the Sedition Act, which was still extant from the 1948 colonial constitution. The Amendment prohibits open discussion of any topic that might be considered racially sensitive. Issues defined as sensitive are racial slurs, the person or role of the hereditary sultans; the *Bumiputera*; the person or position of the hereditary sultans; and Malay as the national language. The Amendment forbids parliamentary debate, public statements, and publications or broadcasts which express any negative attitudes toward these issues. Newspapers, radio, and television are government-controlled. Foreign dispatches, broadcasts, and films are censored.

Tun Razak announced that a New Economic Policy (NEP) would be inaugurated with the Second Malaysia Plan, 1971-1975. The NEP's first objective was to eradicate poverty, not just for Malays but for everyone. However, since there were more poor Malays than members of other races, *Bumiputera* were to be given special opportunities to own land and acquire capital.

The second objective was to increase occupational choices for *Bumiputera* by offering them jobs on industrial estates. These were tracts of land cleared for new factories. Some industrial estates were occupied by local firms for manufacturing consumer goods. Other estates were leased to multinational corporations which set up assembly plants for new technologies, such as microchips. A foreign corporation could profit from having goods manufactured in Malaysia because labor was cheaper there than in the more industrialized countries. However, some of the *Bumiputera* workers, many of whom were women, disliked being transplanted from their companionable villages to factories, where they were confined all day within four walls.

The government created new agencies to implement the various goals of the New Economic Policy. Four divisions within the Ministry of National and Rural Development were assigned to raise living standards in rural areas.

The Village and Rural Development Division oversees electrification, water supply, roads, nutrition, and village rehabilitation. The Rural Enterprise Division promotes jobs in manufacturing metal tools, packaged foods, and rattan and bamboo products. The Small Industries Division encourages cottage industries like batik printing and basketry.[1] The Community Development Division aims to create a Malaysian identity through adult education. It sponsors classes in literacy and good conduct; and classes that are designed to promote values like self-reliance and acceptance of change. The individual is meant to develop a sense that he or she can contribute to the national goals.

In 1976 the Industrial Coordination Act raised the Malay quota by requiring all business and industrial firms to employ 30 percent *Bumiputera* at every level. Furthermore, every corporation had to release 30 percent of its holdings to Malay ownership. As the old *Baba* firms filled their Malay quota the Chinese owners quipped that their firms had been turned into an *Ali-Baba* business.

The *Bumiputera* policies gained general, if not enthusiastic support. Even though the Chinese and Indians realized that they would have to fill lower-level vacancies when *Bumiputera* were moved up to some of the higher-level positions, they preferred a peaceful solution, however unfair, to violence and disruption.

Bumiputera were benefited even more by greater use of the Malay language. The British-style school curriculum was ""Malayanized"" to integrate Malay throughout the entire educational system.

All Malaysian children start school at the age of six and attend primary school for six years. The children may be taught in Malay, Chinese, or Tamil, but study of Malay and

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[1] The Council on Trust for Indigenous Peoples, MARA, also promotes the quality and sales of Malaysian handicrafts.

English is compulsory. The Three R's—Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic—are emphasized. Other subjects are Moral Education (plus Islamic instruction for Muslims), World and Mankind, Music, Art, and Physical Education. Instruction is based on the principle that a common educational experience will produce Malaysian citizens with a common identity.

After six years in the primary school the children are automatically promoted to Form 1, the first of three years of secondary school. This lower secondary school, in which all instruction is in Malay, has a basic curriculum which includes Malay, English, General Science, History, and Moral Education/Religion. Electives in the arts include geography and accounting and electives for biology, chemistry, physics, and mathematics are allowed in the sciences. The vocational program offers courses in commercial studies, home science, agricultural science, or industrial arts.

At the end of the third year all pupils take the same examination for the Lower Certificate of Education. If a pupil attended a primary school in which the language of instruction was not Malay, he or she has to stay back a year in a "Remove Class" for instruction in Malay. Parents who wish their children to study Chinese, Tamil, or other languages enroll them in classes outside school hours.

The upper secondary school is Forms 4 and 5, where pupils are sorted into three streams: science, arts, or technical training. A student must pass an examination in one of these in order to continue in Form 6. Passing the national Higher School Certificate Examination at the end of Form 6 is the only avenue to a university. Success in examinations is critical to opportunity for higher education. The oldest of the universities is the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, founded in 1949. Newer institutions of higher education are the National University, Agricultural University, International Islamic University; University of Technology in Johor; and University Science Malaysia in Penang. There are many technical and teacher training institutes.

There is a 60 percent quota for *Bumputera* admissions in secondary schools and the universities. The only option for non-Malay students who wish to continue their education and are not accepted in their 40 percent allotment is to go abroad. Many graduate from schools in Great Britain, Australia, and the United States. One of the largest groups of foreign students enrolled at American colleges and universities is Malaysian, both Malays and non-Malays.[2]

Malaysia is governed as a parliamentary democracy by three branches of government: executive, legislative, and judicial. The Prime Minister is the Chief Executive and Minister of Home Affairs. He heads a Cabinet of twenty-four ministers, each of whom preside over a ministry. All ministers are members of the political party that has won a parliamentary majority and all are answerable to their peers in parliament. The parliament, or legislative branch, has two chambers: *Dewan Rakyat*, the Senate; and the *Dewan Negara*, the House of Representatives. National elections are held every five years. The thirteen-party National Front (Barisan Nasional), successor to the Alliance, has been in power since 1973.

The Supreme Head of State is the *Yang Di-Pertuan Agong*. Every five years one of the nine hereditary sultans is elected to be king in rotation among themselves. The *Yang Di-Pertuan Agong* chooses the prime minister and approves recommendations for the Cabinet. Article 153 of the Constitution specifies that he will safeguard the special position of the Malays and the legitimate interests of other communities.

The *Yang Di-Pertuan Agong* is bound by the Constitution in much the same way as the Malaccan sultans were bound by *adat* law. His proclamations are based on the advice of the Cabinet, which has the support of the House of Representatives, whose members are elected by the people. The symbolic role of the ruling sultan is more significant than his governmental duties. He is the symbol of the Malay past. His *daulat* places him above the law and glorifies the nation.

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[2] U.S. Department of State, Malaysia, Background Notes, no. 7753 (Washington D. C., November 1991), 6.

The hereditary sultans of the nine Peninsular states, plus the governors of Penang, Malacca, Sabah, and Sarawak, constitute the Conference of Rulers. The Rulers may act independently from Cabinet ministers in certain areas, such as advising on appointments, approving Muslim observances in their respective states, and assigning quotas for Malays in government, education, and business.

Each race perpetuates its own beliefs and traditions in festivals, which occur in accordance with a religious or lunar calendar. Their observance acquits the believer of past offenses and affirms the hope of new beginnings in very different ways. The holidays of Chinese, Indians, and Muslims share the custom of hospitality. Malaysians invite friends of other races to share their celebrations, and visitors from other countries as well.

Sometime in early February, on the first day of the first moon, the Chinese celebrate their new year. Firecrackers pop. The air is scented with sandalwood joss sticks burning before ancestral shrines. A fantastic lion, flanked by drums and clanging cymbals, leads a noisy crowd through the streets. Chinese shops are decorated with dragon signs and good luck banners. Shopkeepers send gifts to loyal customers. Crowds fill the markets and restaurants serve eleven-course banquets. Children receive gifts of money in red envelopes and compete for getting the most *ang pow*. It's a time for new clothes, good food with good friends, and for luck and prosperity in the coming year.

In the dark sky of late October, for four days before and after the new moon, Hindus celebrate *Deepavali,* Festival of Light. Before dawn oil lamps are lit to symbolize a welcome for *Lakshmi*, goddess of wealth and fortune. A bath symbolizes purification. Women put on their new saris and serve special foods to guests. There are wonderful presents for the children. Old quarrels are settled. Shops close their account books for the year. Everyone has a holiday. At dusk the house is lit by rows of candles or lamps to signify a fresh beginning for the next year.

Some Hindus observe a festival called *Thaipusam*. It is a rite of supplication to the god Subramaniam for protection from evil and for granting petitions. On this day at dawn the drums summon the petitioners to the Hindu temple. As the priests drench the petitioner with water and dab holy ashes on his forehead, he enters into a trance. His cheeks are pierced with long skewers. A *kavadi*, which is a wooden frame weighted with offerings, is hooked through his shoulder. The petitioner, by now spiritually transported, trots with his awesome burden with hundreds of others in a long procession to a holy cave. There, laying his *kavadi* at the feet of the bejeweled statue, he receives favor from Lord Sumbramaniam. Smashing a coconut breaks the trance. The festival is no longer observed in India or Sri Lanka but may been seen in Penang, in Singapore, or at the Batu Caves outside Kuala Lumpur.

Muslims celebrate a *Hari Raya* twice in the year. *Hari Raya Haji* is the pilgrimage festival to honor those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca. *Hari Raya Puasa* is the fast-ending festival after *Ramadan*, the obligatory month of fasting. The observance is similar.

The day begins with visits to parents and religious teachers to ask for blessing and forgiveness. Men go to the mosque to give thanks and reaffirm their devotion to Islamic rules of conduct. Women rarely go to the mosque; they more often pray at home. Once the religious obligations are met, the rest of the day is devoted to fellowship. Everyone dresses in their best clothes for visits. Decorative buffets of curries and cakes are served to friends and neighbors, who are greeted by the salutation, May you enjoy this day. *Hari Raya* is a time for welcome and sharing, a time to forgive wrongs of the past year.

Present-day Malay culture is a mixture of Islam with two ancient beliefs of the Malay people. One is Hindu-Buddhism which was transmitted from Srivijaya to the Malaccan sultanate, and from that sultanate into the Malay aristocratic tradition. The tradition is apparent in words used today: government ministers are *menteri*; the *laksamana*, an admiral; and Alexander the Great is perpetuated in the popular Malay boys' name, *Iskandar*.

The heritage of Hindu-Buddhism survives in Malay ceremony, arts, and legend. Coronations retain regalia from the courts of Srivijaya and Malacca: the yellow canopy, fringed umbrella, royal jewels, silver seal, golden *kris*, and the sword of state that is said to have come from Palembang. The *bunga emas* is present on state occasions to show primacy of the Malay state over intimidation.

The Ramayana and Mahabharata epics are retold in dance-dramas and shadow-puppet plays. Fables from the Panchatantra reappear in stories of animals who can solve problems as well as men. The jackal of the Jataka tales becomes the wily mouse deer *Kancil*, who pretends he is lord of the forest and takes the Indian title, *Sang*. The Indian lotus flower and *garuda* bird are prominent in Malay silver and batik designs.

The other ancient belief absorbed by Malay culture is animism, the belief that every living thing has a soul. Among villagers the *bomoh* may still be asked to prescribe herbal medicines or expel spirits of sickness. The *pawang* is still consulted to interpret omens or determine which are the best days for a harvest or wedding. A holy place may be a mosque or it may be some site revered for its soul-spirit. In spite of contradictions in custom Malays have been able to integrate a belief in soul-spirits with their commitment to Islam.

The influence of Islam is evident in appearance and lifestyles. Although many people dress in Western style, others wear Muslim clothing. Women wear a long tunic over a long skirt. Men dressed in a Western business suit will often wear a black-velvet rimless cap, the Muslim *pici*.

A man may have four wives, but few take this option. An increasing number of women are combining careers with family life. There are close bonds among Muslims.

Even Malays who have moved to the city and become affluent are likely to remain very attached to their home villages.

A fundamentalist Islamic movement has grown stronger in Malaysia since the 1970s. At some colleges women students have adopted Arab cloaks and head coverings to demonstrate their piety along with disapproval of explicit aspects of Western culture. The government stresses standards of Islamic morality through the press and broadcasting media. Correct appearance and behavior are called "healthy values."

Malaysia's transportation infrastructure is a model among Asian nations. There are efficient rail and bus networks, excellent roads, and even limousines for long-distance hire. A new highway bisects the Peninsula from the Thai border to the Singapore causeway. Where the old portage route once crossed the Peninsula, the East-West Highway now connects Kota Baru in Kelantan to Gerik in Perak. The Penang ferry is now surpassed by a highway bridge from Georgetown to the Kedah mainland. Malaysian Airlines flies domestic and international routes. Sabah and Sarawak are easily reached by air or by the Straits Steamship Company's ships.

Kuala Lumpur successfully combines modern buildings with the turreted Victorian-Arabic buildings of the railway station, post office, and the Masjid Jame Mosque. The city offers some splendid contemporary architecture, namely the National Mosque, National Monument, and the Parliament Building. Malay themes of the flared roof line, dome, or the star-and-crescent appear increasingly in new architectural design.

The street peddlers and open-air markets have not lost their customers to fast-food chains or "cold-storage" supermarkets. The morning markets still hawk the produce of land and sea. There are baskets of fish and prawns; and bins of colored rice—Kedah rice, Thai rice, and Java rice. Fruit such as mango, mangosteen, star-fruit, guava, pineapple, and durian are displayed for sale. Hot and cool treats: grilled *satay,* banana fritters, pineapple and coconut ice drinks are readily available. Stalls offer Pakistani beef, Chinese pork, Malay poultry. The Indian spice shed where curry is mixed to order is a popular spot for shoppers. All of these foods are adapted to the several Malaysian cuisines.

Mahathir bin Mohamad has been the Prime Minister of Malaysia since 1982. He was born in 1925 and trained as a medical doctor, not in England like his older colleagues, but in Singapore. Since 1974 when he served as Education Minister under Tun Abdul Razak, Mahathir gained the reputation of being a skilled politician who works efficiently toward clear goals. For his streamlining of the federal government he has been called a "reformer in a hurry." For his expansion of trade and industry he is also known as the "businessman's prime minister."

Under Prime Minister Mahathir, Malaysia has risen to the status of a Newly Industrializing Country (NIC). Sale of manufactured goods on the world market has eclipsed the constant exports of rubber, petroleum, timber, palm oil, and tin. Malaysia exports the most semiconductors and room air conditioners, and its radios and television sets rival those produced by other countries. The Proton Saga automobile, which is made in Malaysia in cooperation with Mitsubishi of Japan, has contributed to the success of Malaysia's industrial success. Malaysia now ranks twenty-fourth among other nations in value of exports.

Future plans are to concentrate on invention and design in advanced fields like biotechnology, automatic manufacturing, electronic design, and information systems. The Kulim High Tech Industrial Park in Kedah is designed to be a hi-tech manufacturing zone that is built like a self-contained city, where technical training and research centers will be combined with housing and recreation facilities.

Malaysia is one of the fifty nations in the British Commonwealth and has been most active in the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). Other members are Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Brunei. Malaysia maintains strong ties with Islamic countries in the Middle East, but entry visas to Malaysia are not extended to citizens of Israel and South Africa (1992).

Malaysia has achieved a number of its goals. There is a sound economic base and a strong currency. Sabah and Sarawak have benefited since becoming part of Malaysia. A middle class with a good standard of living is visible in towns, particularly in Kuala Lumpur, Penang, Ipoh (Perak), and Johor Baru (Johor). Forty-five percent of the people now live in urban areas, as opposed to 26.8 percent in 1970. More Malaysians in towns now share a common lifestyle, but a common culture which expresses the cultures of all ethnic groups has not emerged.

Even though the national culture is based on Malay traditional culture and Islam is the official religion, the law protects the freedom to worship in the faith of one's choice. Even though Malay is the national language, everyone is allowed to speak in her or his own tongue.

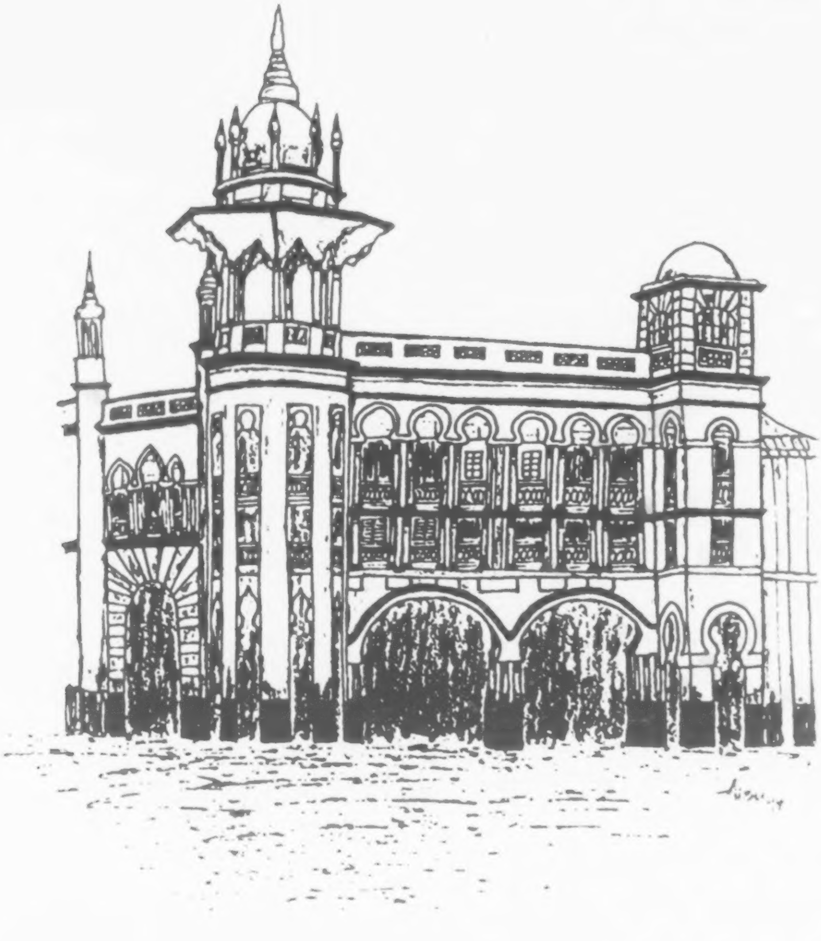
The country has been at peace since 1970. Even though Malay and Chinese conflicts have not been resolved, the racial tension is carefully kept in check. Since taking over the State of Emergency power from the *Yang Di-Pertuan Agong* in 1983, Mahathir has not relinquished any executive powers concerning national security.

There is still an ethnic imbalance. Most Malays still live in rural areas, where living conditions for very poor Malays have scarcely improved. The Malays have moved less toward economic success than they have advanced in educational level. Malay share-ownership in business corporations has risen from 2.3 percent in 1970 to more than 20 percent, but it is still short of the targeted 30 percent.

Non-Malays find that their opportunities remain limited. Many Chinese and Indian families must send their children abroad to further their education or to advance their careers. The Chinese are restricted from expanding their own enterprises as they might wish. There are few Chinese in the military or in the police force.

Prospects for the Indians have changed hardly at all. The professional class enjoys a comfortable lifestyle; the poor Indians remain in unskilled labor or service occupations. Indians still hold only 1.5 percent of the country's corporate assets.

Malaysia has had to make difficult choices to govern its plural society. Although the government has chosen authoritarian methods to control its dissimilar peoples, it remains relatively responsive to demands of the people. In this respect Malaysia works as a democracy. As more nations of the world have to cope with the social and economic disruptions caused by separatist ambitions, they will face similar choices. Malaysia's leaders believe that the course they have chosen is the right one, for it benefits a majority of the people and the country.



CHAPTER 5

Exercise 1

Give the names associated with the following:

1. The government centralized all power in a National Operations Council headed by this person.
2. The formation of the New Economic Policy was associated with this person.
3. This Act encouraged greater participation of Malays in commerce and industry.
4. The press was prohibited from discussing racially sensitive topics in this amendment or law.
5. The Malays were given more advantage by the increased use of this language.
6. In this religion, only the right hand may be used for eating and pork is forbidden.
7. Students who attended non-Malay primary schools had to attend this class.
8. This party succeeded the Alliance coalition.
9. This person's conduct is immune from legal challenge.
10. During this month, Muslims may not eat or drink between sunup and sundown.

Exercise 2

Give the years (and dates, if possible) in which the following events took place.

1. The ASEAN was formed.
2. The Sensitive Issues Amendment was added to the constitution.
3. The May 13 Riots erupted.
4. Mahathir bin Mohamed became the Prime Minister of Malaysia.
5. The Alliance lost in the general election.
6. The Industrial Coordination Act was passed.

Exercise 3

Circle the correct response to the following:

1. The most difficult decisions facing the Alliance concerned its
a. economic policies.
b. post-war reconstruction.
c. political government.
d. racial policy.

2. The policy the Alliance settled on combined
a. accommodation and assimilation.
b. division and accommodation.
c. aggression and division.
d. assimilation and protection.

3. What sparked off the May 13 riots?
a. The Chinese had gained too much economic power.
b. The racial policy of the Alliance was unfair.
c. The Alliance lost a substantial number of seats in the general election resulting in the non-Malays gaining a share of power.
d. The Malays wished to secure advantages for themselves.

4. The May 13 riots resulted in
a. stricter law enforcement and greater domination by the Malays.
b. the Chinese being moved to the New Villages.
c. the formation of a coalition of opposition parties.
d. a jubilant celebration by the Malays over their victory.

5. Who was referred to as Bapak Merdeka?
a. Tun Abdul Razak
b. Tunku Abdul Rahman
c. Mahathir bin Mohamed
d. Yang Di-Pertuan Agong

6. The following are all aims of the Ministry of National and Rural Development except
a. to raise the living standards in rural areas.
b. to encourage cottage industries.
c. to promote literacy and good conduct.
d. to encourage subsistence farming.

7. The Industrial Coordination Act
a. required corporations to employ at least 30% Malays among their staff.
b. encouraged the Chinese to invest more in commerce and industry.
c. was enforced by the Ministry of National and Rural Development.
d. turned firms into Ali-Baba businesses.

8. All of the following were given special emphasis in the Malaysian school curriculum except
a. arts & crafts.
b. reading.
c. writing.
d. arithmetic.

9. Malaysia's form of government is described as a
a. judiciary parliament.
b. democratic coalition.
c. socialist republic.
d. parliamentary democracy.

10. The most important duty of the Yang Di-Pertuan Agong is
a. reigning over all branches of government.
b. choosing the Prime Minister.
c. upholding his symbolic role representing the authority transmitted from the Malay past.
d. drafting laws to safeguard the special position of the Malays.

11. Malay culture is a combination of Islam and which two ancient belief systems?
a. Indian and Javanese
b. Indian Buddhist and spirit worship
c. Javanese and Hinduism
d. dakwah and Buddhist

12. Since 1982, priority has been given to which of the following in Malaysia?
a. timber-logging
b. mining
c. industrialization
d. agriculture

13. Malaysia was criticized by international environmentalists for
a. the logging of its tropical forests.
b. its lack of recycling facilities.
c. not preserving its endangered animals.
d. prohibiting hunting among the Penan people.

14. Citizens of which countries are not allowed entry into Malaysia?
a. Israel and South Africa
b. the Soviet Union and China
c. North Korea and Vietnam
d. Burma and Iran

15. The 1971 Sensitive Issues Amendment contains all of the following except:
a. prohibition of open discussion of racially sensitive issues
b. restrictions on freedom of the press
c. ban on publicly questioning the government's policy on national language policy
d. prohibition of racial intermarriage

Exercise 4

Give brief answers to the following questions.

1. Name the four main opposition parties at the time of the 1969 election in which the Alliance's majority was lessened considerably. Summarize each party's main aims.
2. What are the five principles of the Rukunegara.
3. How did Tun Abdul Razak attempt to create a more equitable economic situation between the Malays and Chinese?
4. What were the main objectives of the New Economic Policy?
5. What are the major festivals celebrated in Malaysia and by whom are they celebrated?

Exercise 5

Write a short essay on one of the following topics.

1. What were some of the Malay entitlements provided by the Malaysian government under Tun Abdul Razak? In your opinion, do such entitlements amount to racial discrimination? Why or why not?

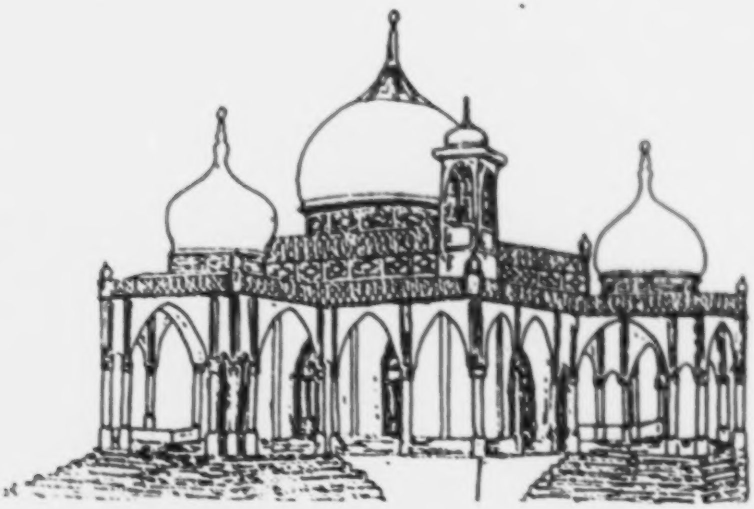
2. What did the Sensitive Issues Amendment prohibit? Do you agree with these restrictions? Explain your answer.

3. In your opinion, can the Malaysian government be considered a democratic government? Explain.

Exercise 6

Creative Writing.

You are a Malaysian high school student and have just received a letter from your American pen pal describing the festivities at Christmas and New Year. You want to let your friend know how the major holidays in Malaysia are celebrated. Write a letter describing the ways that Chinese New Year, Deepavali, Thaipusam and Hari Raya Puasa are observed.



Glossary

adat	Malay custom with the force of law
ang pow	Chinese gift packets for money
arak	palm sap liquor, "toddy"
Baba	literally "outsider"; early Chinese settlers in Malay areas; Malayo-Chinese
bahasa	language; refined Malay behavior
Bahasa Malaysia	the Malaysian national language
bapak	father
Bendahara	chief minister in sultanate
bomoh	spirit doctor, medicine man
Bumiputera (Bumiputra)	literally, "Son of the Soil," a category that includes the aborigines, the Malays, and the Malay-related
bunga emas	bouquet of gold and silver flowers sent as tribute to Thailand
Burunai	old Malay name for Borneo
Cik, Encik	Miss
Dato', Datu; Datuk,Datin (f.)	a title whereby a commoner is raised to the rank of chief
daulat	mystical power of kingship, above mortals
Deepavali	Hindu Festival of Light
Dewan Negara	Senate of Malaysian Parliament
Dewan Rakyat	House of Representatives of Malaysian Parliament
Enche', Enchek	Mr.
Encik, Cik	Miss
garuda	mythical bird in Hindu belief
gotong royong	mutual assistance
gudang	godown, warehouse or storeroom
Hari Raya Puasa	Muslim holiday after fasting month
imam	Muslim prayer leader
istana	palace of ruler
Jawi	Malay written in Arabic script
kakatua	cockatoo bird

kampong	village or cluster of dwellings
Kapitan China	Chinese community or clan leader
kati	unit of weight
kavadi	Thaipusam ritual burden
kong-si	Chinese clan or working community
kuasa	temporal or worldly power of the sultan
Laksamana	minister of defense, admiral in sultanate
Lakshmi	Hindu goddess of wealth and fortune
Mak	title of non-royal mothers of royal persons
masuk	Melayuto enter into the Malay fold; to become a Muslim
Melayu	the Malay ancestral homeland on Sumatra
Menteri	minister in sultanate or government
merdeka	freedom
muafakat	rule by consensus
Nan Yang	Southern Ocean, Chinese name for Malaya
nasi gorengf	ried rice
negeri Melayu	countries of the Malays
Nonya	Malay woman married to an early Chinese settler
Nonya cuisine	Malayo-Chinese cuisine
orang asli	forest people, aborigines
orang kaya	important chiefs; literally, "rich man"
orang laut	sea people
pawang	wizard, magician
Penghulu	headman
pici	Muslim brimless cap for men
prau	Malay sailboat
Puan	Mrs.
raja muda	young raja, Crown Prince
rakyat	the people
Ramadan	Muslim month of fasting
Rukunegara	Malaysia's national pledge
Sangan	Indian honorific

satay	grilled meat on a skewer
semangat	soul-spirit in animistic belief
Seri, Sri	a form of address, illustrious one
Shahbandar	harbor master and tax collector in sultanate
Tan Sri	a modern honorary title
Temenggong	minister of justice in sultanate
Tengku, Tunku	title used for children of rulers
Thaipusam	a Hindu rite to the god Subramaniam
Tuna	modern honorary title
ummat	spiritual community of believers in Islam
Yang di-Pertuan	"He Who Is Made Lord," the sultan
Yang di-Pertuan Agong	"He Who Is Made Supreme Lord," the sultan chosen to be the Supreme Head of State

Figure 1. The Pre-Colonial Malay World

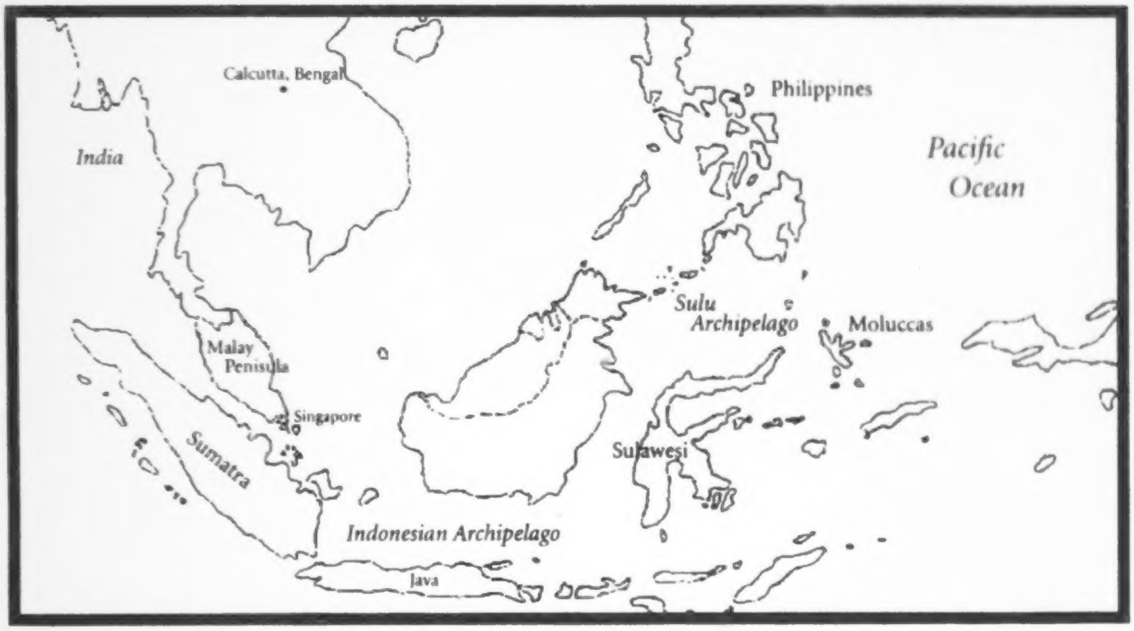

Calcutta, Bengal
Philippines
India
Pacific Ocean
Sulu Archipelago
Moluccas
Malay Penisula
Singapore
Sumatra
Sulawesi
Indonesian Archipelago
Java

Figure 2. Colonial Trade Routes

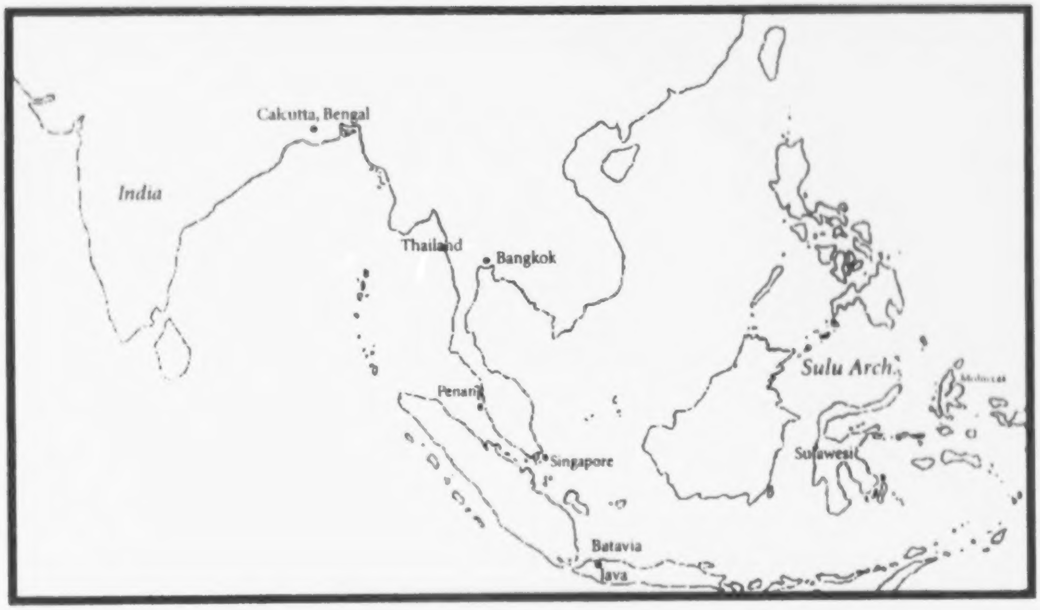

Calcutta, Bengal
India
Thailand
Bangkok
Penang
Singapore
Batavia
Java
Sulu Arch.
Sulawesi

Figure 3. The Malay Peninsula

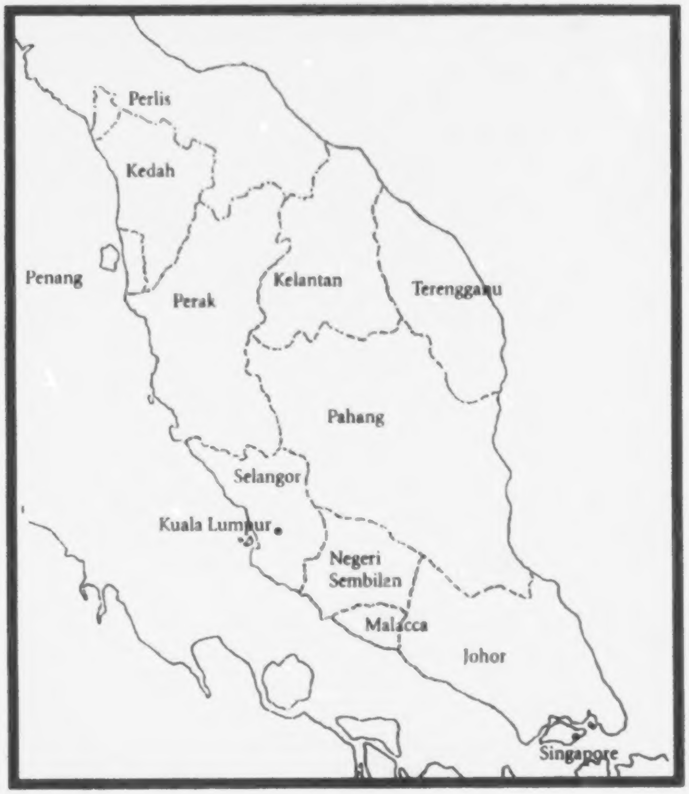

Perlis
Kedah
Penang
Perak
Kelantan
Terengganu
Pahang
Selangor
Kuala Lumpur
Negeri Sembilan
Malacca
Johor
Singapore

Figure 4. Borneo

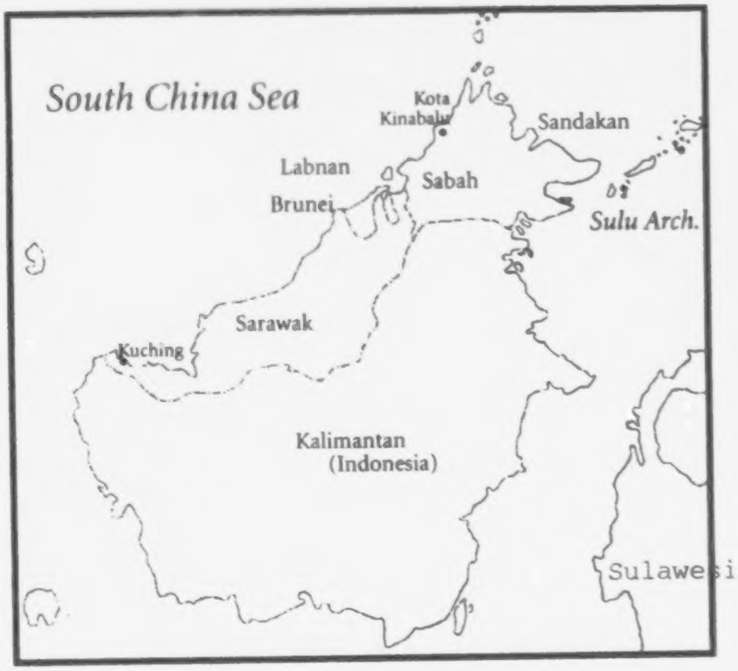
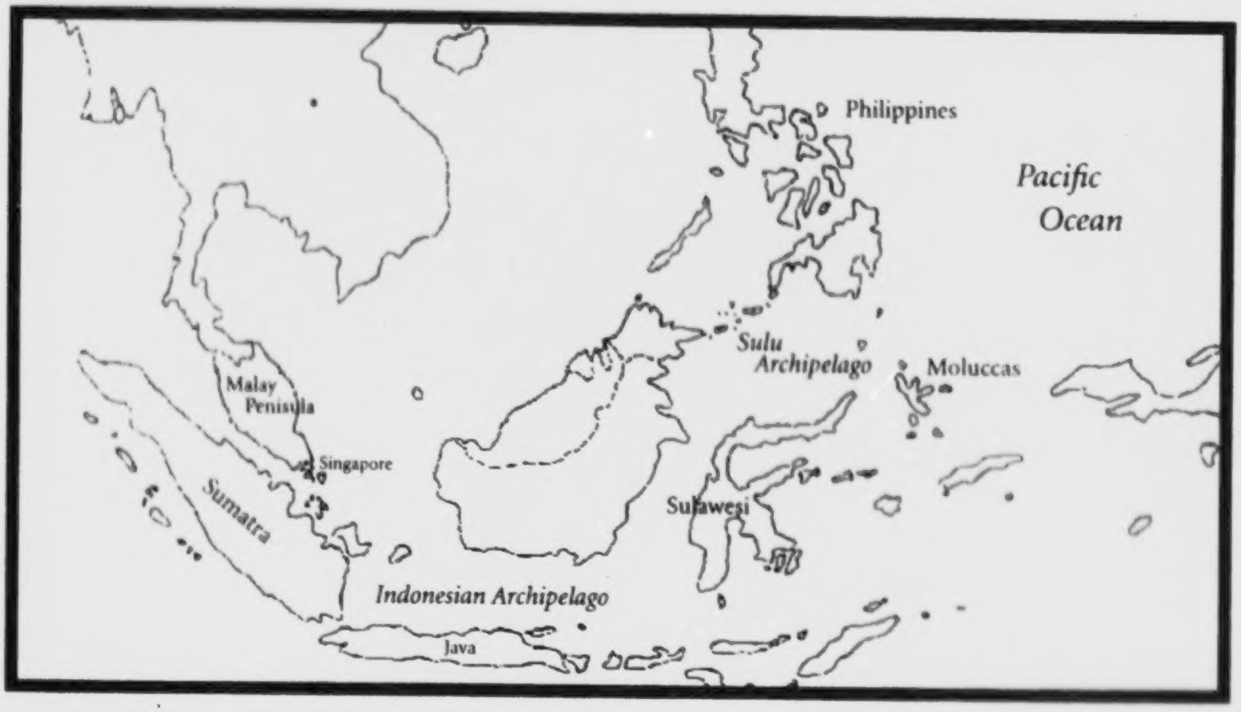

South China Sea
Kota Kinabalu
Sandakan
Labnan
Sabah
Brunei
Sulu Arch.
Sarawak
Kuching
Kalimantan (Indonesia)
Sulawesi

Figure 5. Island Southeast Asia


Philippines
Pacific Ocean
Sulu Archipelago
Moluccas
Malay Penisula
Singapore
Sumatra
Sulawesi
Indonesian Archipelago
Java

ANSWER KEY

CHAPTER 1

Exercise 1

1. d
2. b
3. a
4. c
5. a
6. c
7. c
8. b
9. d
10. a

Exercise 2

1. daulat - the Srivijayan ruler's supernatural aura of kingship
2. muafakat - by consensus
3. kris - wavy-bladed dagger
4. bomoh - Malay spirit doctor
6. Jawi - Arabic script

Exercise 3

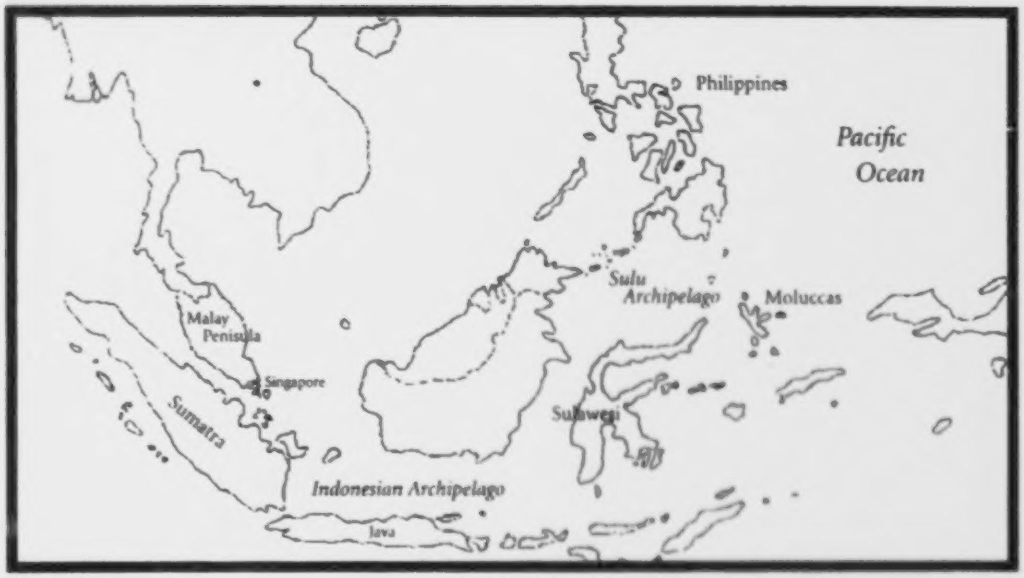
1. Malay Peninsula
2. nutmeg, cloves
3. cash
4. pirates
5. Palembang
6. Paramesvara
7. Raja Tengah
8. China
9. ruling class, subject class
10. cabinet ministers (Bendahara, Temenggong, Laksamana, & Menteri)

Exercise 4 (essay question)

Exercise 5 (creative writing)

110

Exercise 6


Philippines
Pacific Ocean
Sulu Archipelago
Moluccas
Malay Peninsula
Singapore
Sumatra
Sulawesi
Indonesian Archipelago
Java

CHAPTER 2

Exercise 1

I

1. Malacca fell to the Portuguese.
2. The Dutch East India Company made Batavia the capital of the Asian Dutch colonies.
3. Malacca fell to the Dutch.
4. The Dutch conquered the Macassars and the Bugis and imposed a monopoly on the spice trade in the Moluccas.
5. The Bugis were expelled from the Straits waterways.

II

(1)	1786
(10)	1795
(5)	1819
(4)	1824
(7)	1826
(2)	1867
(8)	1874
(9)	1895
(3)	1909
(6)	1914

Exercise 2

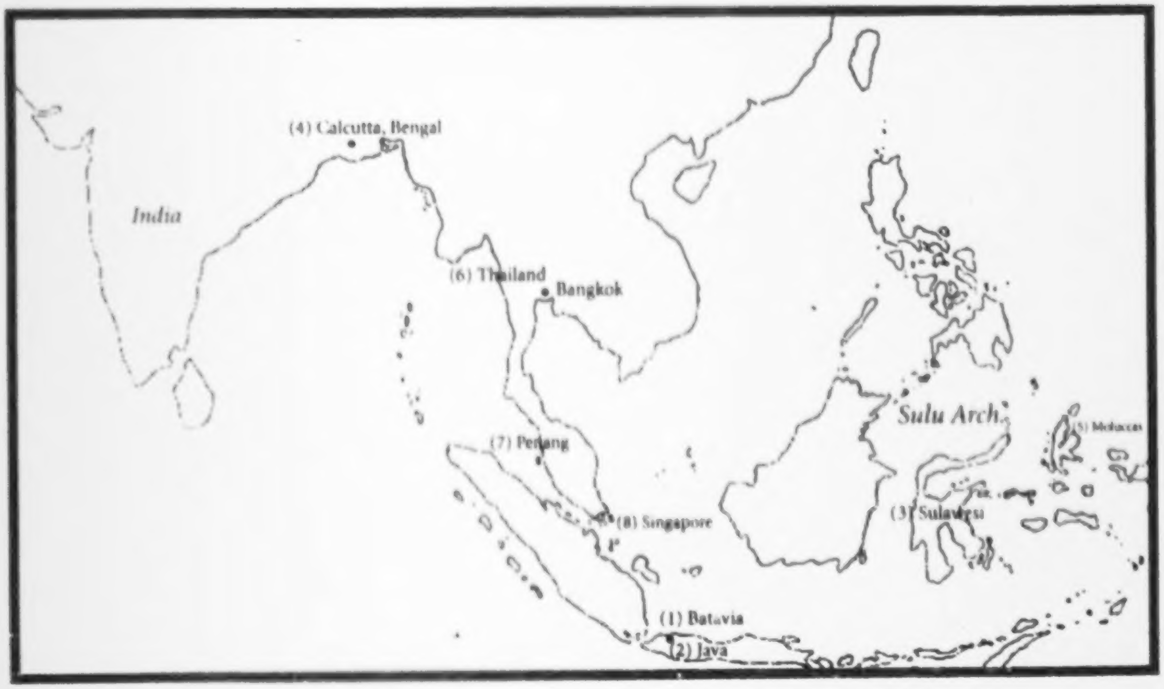
1. b
2. d
3. a

4. e
5. c

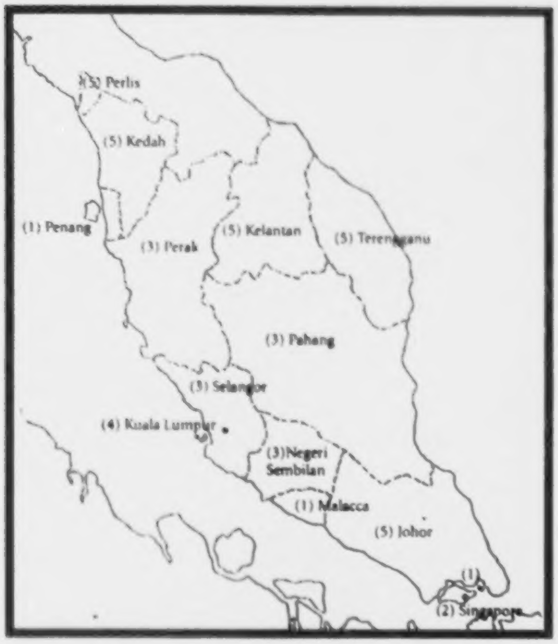
Exercise 3

1. a
2. d
3. b
4. b
5. a
6. b
7. c
8. b
9. d
10. a

Exercise 4


(4) Calcutta, Bengal
India
(6) Thailand
Bangkok
Sulu Arch.
(5) Moluccas
(7) Penang
(8) Singapore
(3) Sulawesi
(1) Batavia
(2) Java

Exercise 4


(5) Perlis
(5) Kedah
(1) Penang
(3) Perak
(5) Kelantan
(5) Terengganu
(3) Pahang
(3) Selangor
(4) Kuala Lumpur
(3)Negeri Sembilan
(1) Malacca
(5) Johor
(1)
(2) Singapore

Exercise 5

1. The British promised protection against the Thais in exchange for Penang Island.

2. (1) To maintain law and order
   (2) To exploit the State's resources
   (3) To set up a tax system that would yield surpluses.

3. The Residency system provided a way by which the British could rule the Malays indirectly and allowed the British to exploit the Malay state's resources for entrepreneurial gain.

4. To try to preserve the existing socio-culutural balance.

5. (1) The 3 Straits Settlements: Malacca, Penang and Singapore
   (2) The 4 Federated Malay States: Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Pahang
   (3) The 5 Unfederated Malay States: Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Terengganu and Johore.

Exercise 6

(essay)

CHAPTER 3

Exercise 1

1. Singapore
2. Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA)
3. Malays
4. Singapore, North Borneo, & Sarawak
5. secular
6. Onn bin Ja'afar
7. Federation of Malaya
8. Malays, 15
9. trade unions
10. Emergency

Exercise 2

1. 1952
2. 1951
3. 1948
4. 1957
5. 1963
6. 1946
7. 1957
8. 1952
9. 1965
10. 1949

Exercise 3

1. d
2. c
3. a
4. e
5. b

Exercise 4

1. c
2. d
3. a
4. b
5. b
6. c
7. a
8. a
9. b
10. c
11. c
12. a
13. a
14. d
15. d

Exercise 5

(essay)

Exercise 6

1. (i) Expanded Malay education and language training
(ii) Placed Malays in higher ranks of the civil service
(iii) Organized mass demonstrations to encourage anti-Chinese and anti-British sentiments among the Malays
(iv) Staged pan-Malayan conferences to encourage Malay nationalistic feelings

2. (i) The Malays interpreted their sultans' loss of power as loss of face
(ii) They felt disenfranchised having to answer to authority that stood between them and their sultans
(iii) They felt thay had been demoted to the status of a minority group

3. (i) Reinstated the rights of the Malays
(ii) Restored the sovereignty of the sultans
(iii) Granted automatic citizenship to Malays

4. All peoples who had cultural affinities with the people indigenous to the region:
(i) Orang asli - the original forest dwellers
(ii) Malay - Muslims and those who share common cultural traits with Muslims
(iii) Malay-related - non-Muslims of the same basic racial stock who were early migrants to the region

5. Aims: To stimulate economic growth through strengthening agricultural economy, promoting forestry, and fisheries, and to give all races equal employment opportunities.
Projects/areas: (i) Promoting industries (ii) Resettlement programs (iii) Village projects (iv) Credit and marketing incentives (v) Health and education
Successful in promoting industries but not equitable wages for all. Rural Malays stayed on farms and did not benefit as much as the educated elite who dominated the urban economy.

Exercise 7

(Creative Writing)

CHAPTER 4

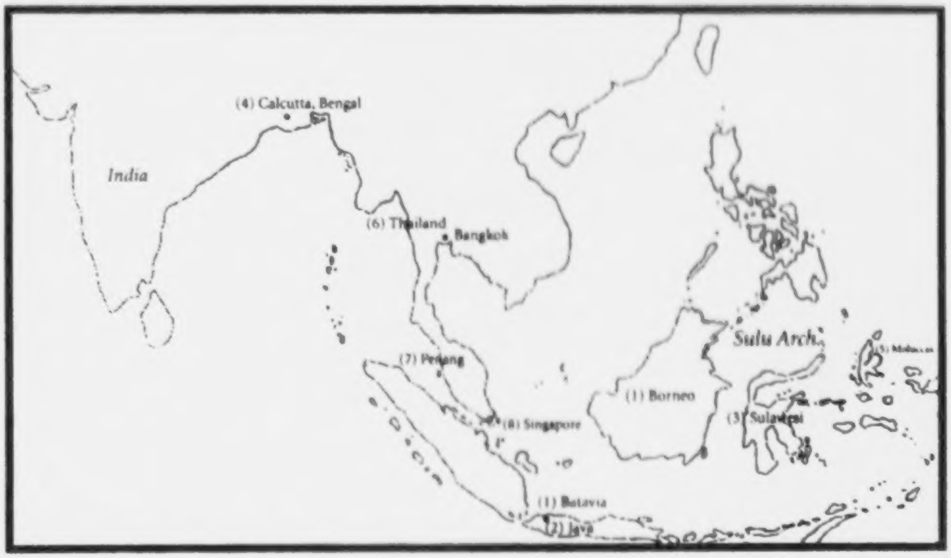
Exercise 1

1. Borneo, Sabah, Sarawak, Brunei, Kalimantan
2. Bandar Seri Begawan
3. Sea Dayaks, pirates, Sarawak, longhouses
4. Raja Muda Hassim
5. police force

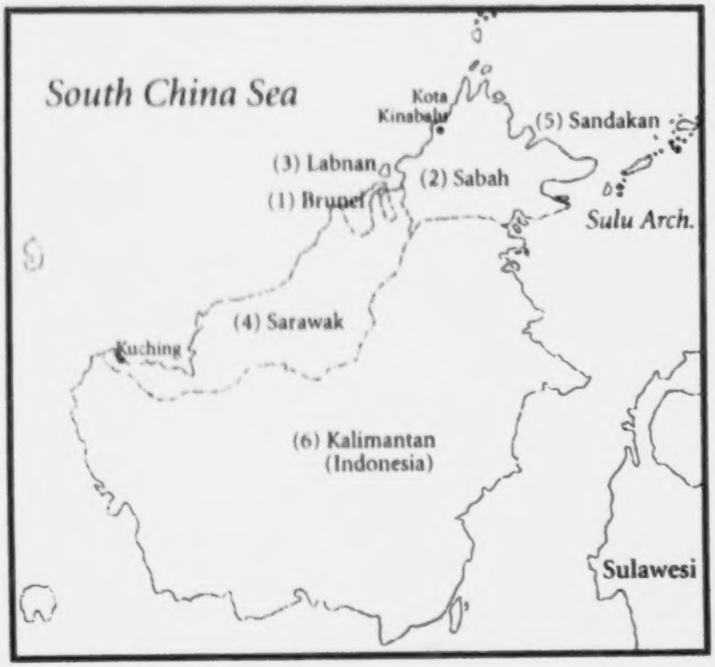
6. Negeri Melayu
7. Chinese
8. North Borneo Company, the Chartered Company
9. Orang Kaya Kaya
10. the British Borneo Timber Company

Exercise 2

I.


(4) Calcutta, Bengal
India
(6) Thailand
Bangkok
(7) Penang
(8) Singapore
(1) Borneo
Sulu Arch.
(5) Moluccas
(3) Sulawesi
(1) Batavia
(2) Java

II.


South China Sea
Kota Kinabalu
(5) Sandakan
(3) Labnan
(2) Sabah
(1) Brunei
Sulu Arch.
(4) Sarawak
Kuching
(6) Kalimantan (Indonesia)
Sulawesi

Exercise 3

1. c
2. a
3. b
4. a
5. d
6. b
7. c
8. b
9. a
10. d
11. d
12. c

Exercise 4

(7)	1839
(4)	1841
(12)	1846
(6)	1881
(1)	1895
(9)	1906
(2)	1912
(11)	1937
(8)	1945
(10)	1946
(3)	1963
(5)	1963

Exercise 5

1. d
2. e
3. b
4. f
5. a
6. g
7. c

Exercise 6

(essay)

CHAPTER 5

Exercise 1

1. Tun Abdul Razak
2. Tun Abdul Razak
3. Industrial Coordination Act
4. Sensitive Issues Amendment (to the Sedition Act)
5. Bahasa Malaysia or the Malay language
6. Islam
7. Remove class
8. The National Front
9. The Yang Di-Pertuan Agong
10. Ramadan

Exercise 2

1. 1969
2. 1971
3. May 13, 1969
4. 1982
5. May 12, 1969
6. 1976

Exercise 3

1. d
2. a
3. c
4. a
5. b
6. d
7. a
8. a
9. d
10. c
11. b
12. c
13. a
14. a
15. d

Exercise 4

1. (i) Malaysian People's Movement - true racial equality
   (ii) Democratic Action Party - equal opportunity for the Chinese
   (iii) People's Progressive Party - equal opportunity for non-Malays
   (iv) Pan-Malayan Islamic Party - advantages for Malays

2. (i) Belief in God
   (ii) Loyalty to King and Country
   (iii) Upholding the Constitution
   (iv) Rule of Law
   (v) Good Behavior and Morality

3. By giving more opportunities to the Malays:
   (i) preference in access to jobs and levels of employment
   (ii) higher quotas in education and training
   (iii) increased use of the Malay language

4. (i) To eradicate poverty of all
   (ii) To reduce the dependence of the Bumiputera on subsistence agriculture

5. (i) Chinese New Year - Chinese
   (ii) Deepavali - Indians (Hindus)
   (iii) Thaipusam - Indians (Hindus)
   (iv) Hari Raya Puasa - Malays (Muslims)

Exercise 5

(essay)

Exercise 6

(creative writing)

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